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ABSTRACT

These materials are part of a four-module series, "Competence Is for Everyone," designed to specify and reduce limitations on the learning and use of skills that people experience because of their sex or race. The series identifies three areas that function to maintain inequalities: the process of making judgments or appraisals; practices of social institutions in education, employment, and the mass media; and legal precedents and historical antecedents. Appraisal is treated as it occurs with respect to group membership, i.e., sex and minority status. This module, written for students at the upper grade-level, examines appraisal as expressed in minority status through activities focused on: (1) identifying human needs; (2) building an awareness of minority group history and status in employment and education; and (3) recognizing individuals and groups responsible for legal and social changes. A teacher's guide with instructions and worksheets accompanies this student text. (Author/HLM)

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COMPETENCE IS FOR EVERYONE

Upper Level
Unit 2: In the Minority

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and Dale Kent

University of Vermont

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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CHAPTER 1

APPRAISALS LIMIT HUMAN NEEDS

In order to stay alive and to be happy, we all have needs that have to be satisfied. What do we need to live? What do we need to be happy? How do we satisfy these needs?

Think about the examples of Malcolm X and Nancy in Unit 1. How were their survival needs satisfied? Did they find it easy? The answer is no. Malcolm dropped out of school and Nancy had to take a low-level job.

Did they feel happy about their situations? How did they feel about themselves as people? Both would have been more content if the appraisals had reflected their actual performance. Both would have felt better about themselves as human beings if being Black and female received respect and acceptance.

The case of Malcolm X illustrates that our appraisals limit how minority persons satisfy their needs. We will look at several minority groups in our society, think about how we can improve our judgments and treatment of others, and think about how this will help them in satisfying their needs.

Make a Stereotype

1. Below is a list of adjectives which we often use to describe others. Some people, like Archie Bunker, use some of these words to describe people in minority groups. Check off those words which people like Archie Bunker would use to describe minority people.

friendly	neat
stupid	smart
leader	courageous
sneaky	helpful
musical	adventurous
follower	strong
energetic	easily influenced
lazy	kind
superstitious	cowardly
law breaker	dominant
dependent	dirty
skilled	happy-go-lucky
aggressive	emotional
ambitious	makes decisions easily

2. Look over your answer and make two separate lists of words:

   a. Words which are checked off for minority groups.

   b. Words which are left over.

3. Do the words checked off for minority groups help people in the minority?

Speaking Out for Pride

Many people have eloquently described the diminishing effects of prejudiced beliefs and actions on the individual person. They have just as forcefully protested such treatment and asserted their right to pride and human dignity. The following are exemplary statements made by several Black leaders.

W. E. B. DuBois, 1903*

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world--a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife--this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.

This, then, is the end of his striving; to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius. These powers of body and mind have in the past been strangely wasted, dispersed, or forgotten. The shadow of a mighty Negro past flits through the tale of Ethiopia the Shadowy and of Egypt the Sphinx. Throughout history, the powers of single black men flash here and there like falling stars, and die sometimes before the world has rightly gauged their brightness.

Howard Thurman, 1961**

It is a strange freedom to be adrift in the world of men without a sense of anchor anywhere. Always there is the need of mooring, the need for the firm grip on something that is rooted and will not give. The urge to be accountable to someone, to know that beyond the individual himself there is an answer that must be given--this cannot be denied.

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*From W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1969.

**From Howard Thurman, The Inward Journey. Copyright © 1961 by Howard Thurman. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

The deed a man performs must be weighed in a balance held by another's hand. The very spirit of a man tends to panic from the desolation of going nameless up and down the streets of other minds where no salutation greets and no friendly recognition makes secure. It is a strange freedom to be adrift in the world of men.

Always a way must be found for bringing into one's solitary place the settled look from another's face, for getting the quiet sanction of another's grace, to undergird the meaning of the self. To be ignored, to be passed over as of no account and as of no meaning, is to be made into a faceless thing, not a man. It is better to be the complete victim of an anger unrestrained and a wrath which knows no bounds, to be torn asunder without mercy or battered to a pulp by angry violence, than to be passed over as if one were not. Here at least one is dealt with, encountered, vanquished, or overwhelmed--but not ignored. It is a strange freedom to go nameless up and down the streets of other minds where no salutation greets and no sign is given to mark the place one calls one's own.

Martin Luther King, 1963*

When you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by developing an unconscious bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross-country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"--then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

Shirley Chisholm, 1970**

On a speaking date in 1969 in St. Louis, a white member of the audience asked me a question that I have heard repeatedly....It makes

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*From "Letter from Birmingham Jail--April 16, 1963," in Why We Can't Wait by Martin Luther King, Jr. Copyright © 1963 by Martin Luther King, Jr. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

**From Unbought and Unbossed by Shirley Chisholm. Copyright © 1970 by Shirley Chisholm. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

me more furious each time I hear it. "What do you Negroes want now?" he asked me. "You all aren't doing too bad. As a matter of fact, you're doing a lot better than some of the white people."

My God, what do we want? What does any human being want? Take away an accident of pigmentation of a thin layer of our outer skin and there is no difference between me and anyone else. All we want is for that trivial difference to make no difference. What can I say to a man who asks that? All I can do is try to explain to him why he asks the question.

"You have looked at us for years as different from you that you may never see us really. You don't understand because you think of us as second-class humans. We have been passive and accommodating through so many years of your insults and delays that you think the way things used to be is normal. When the good-natured, spiritual-singing boys and girls rise up against the white man and demand to be treated like he is, you are bewildered. All we want is what you want, no less and no more."

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF MINORITY GROUPS

How do people become minority groups? The following readings are a brief outline of the history of several American minority groups. We have included Afro-Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Mexican Americans. As you read the outline, look for the similarities in their history. In each case you will find:

1. The loss of an advanced way of life through violence.
2. Further harsh treatment through economic and legal means.
3. The development of a system of beliefs which asserts the inferiority of the minority group.

After you have finished the reading, you might wish to gather information. Some possible activities are:

1. Do further research on one or more of these groups and report your findings to your class.
2. Your class can divide into small groups. Each group can research the history of one minority group and prepare a report of its findings for the rest of the class.
3. Choose a particular time period. Find out what life was like for a particular group during this time. For example, what was life like for Japanese-Americans during World War II?
4. Do a survey of standard American history textbooks to see how much of this information on the history of minority groups is usually included.

Afro-Americans

The earliest involvement of Africans with America was as explorers. Thirty Blacks were members of Nunez de Balboa's expedition in 1501 when it first sighted the Pacific Ocean. Blacks explored the Southwest in the expeditions of Vasquez de Coronado and de Vaca. Estevanico, a Black man, led the expedition from Mexico into Arizona and New Mexico in 1538.

Blacks were also among the first settlers of the United States. In 1619 twenty Blacks were among the colonists who landed in Jamestown, Virginia. At first Blacks were treated like indentured servants. They could obtain their freedom after a period of labor. However, by the middle of the seventeenth century, many states had passed laws recognizing the institution of slavery (Virginia in 1661, Massachusetts in 1641, Connecticut in 1650, etc.). By 1750 this institution was legally established throughout all the British colonies.

The African slave trade had its beginning around 1500 A.D. Its purpose was to provide cheap labor for the production of goods and products

in colonies controlled by European countries. From 1500 to 1800 slavery became a worldwide business. It involved every major European country, Africa, and North and South America. During this period forty-five million Black Africans were affected by slavery, although only 15 million made it to the New World. Many died resisting enslavement or perished during the voyage across the Atlantic.

African tribal groups performed the actual capture of slaves. They were armed with weapons provided to them by Europeans. This had the effect of dividing African tribes and setting them against each other. It also resulted in the loss of Africa's greatest resource, its strong young people. These were most valuable for sale in the New World. Although Africans who assisted in the capture of slaves were rewarded, the loss of so many people resulted in the destruction of the social and economic structure of African civilization.

In North America, the institution of slavery was based on the premise that Blacks were not people but property. They had no legal rights, could not engage in business and could not socialize with whites. They could not assemble without white supervision and they could not defend themselves against whites. They had no rights except the right to work for no rewards. They were born to be slaves and slavery was a natural and permanent condition of their lives. They were not thought of as "human" or equal to whites in any way.

In South America the condition of slavery was viewed quite differently. Long before they settled in South America, the Spanish and Portuguese had dealt with Africans as equals in business and trade. The Spanish and Portuguese continued to think of Blacks as equals even after they came to South America. To be a slave was an accident, not a permanent and unchangeable condition. There were also strong religious beliefs in South America. The Spanish and Portuguese were Catholics who believed that both slave and master were equal in the eyes of God.

Because slaves in South America were thought of as equals, they were trained in useful skills. Therefore, when slavery ended in South America, Blacks had two advantages: (1) they had skills and (2) they were thought of as equals. These two factors made the acceptance of free Black slaves into South American society much easier.

In contrast, if we look at the situation in North America, the first contact our colonial ancestors had with Blacks was as non-free people and as slaves. There were no religious beliefs which taught that Blacks were equal. The North Americans saw them as "something less than really human." Black slaves were not given the opportunity to acquire skills. Education was strictly forbidden. When slavery ended here, there were more than one million unskilled, uneducated Blacks who were viewed as "inferior" beings. Even after the end of slavery, the schools provided for Blacks were separate from those for whites and were poorly equipped and staffed. Naturally, this made it more difficult for Blacks in North America to be accepted into society.

Slavery became most institutionalized in Southern states. The Middle Atlantic area of New England held more humanitarian attitudes.

This and the lack of economic need for slaves led to the decline of slavery here. The South became transformed from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy based on one crop, cotton. It became an industrial economy with the invention of the cotton gin. Slaves were needed to grow and process cotton and Europe bought as much as it could. The South thus had a great need for cheap labor and Black slaves provided this labor.

Blacks resisted slavery from the beginning. As early as 1658 a group of Blacks and Indians rebelled in Connecticut. Rebellions flared up in 1712 in New York, in 1739 in South Carolina. In 1800 one thousand slaves marched on Richmond. In 1811 a group of Louisiana slaves rebelled in New Orleans. In 1822 a revolt was organized in South Carolina. The most famous resistance movement was led by Nat Turner in 1831 in South Carolina. But Black Americans stood little chance in these rebellions. They were simply outnumbered by whites.

Blacks also developed other measures to gain freedom. The most famous was the underground railroad which helped Black slaves escape to the North and to freedom. Among this group of sympathetic operators who helped Blacks escape was Harriet Tubman. It is estimated that Mrs. Tubman helped about three hundred people escape. In total about 100,000 slaves migrated to the North via this route. The quest for freedom and equality has changed over time and taken different forms. The most unstable of these is the civil rights movement of the 1960's. The techniques of non-violent demonstrations, boycotts and sit-ins resulted in the most comprehensive civil rights legislation that legally at least, assured the equality of Black Americans.

Native Americans

It is ironic to have to include Native Americans among the minority groups of this country. They are the original inhabitants of this country. Their history does not follow the familiar pattern of most minority cultures in America: arrival of a group, domination by those who preceded them, struggle with prejudice and economic exploitation, the achievement of some degree of assimilation.

Long before Columbus arrived in the New World, North and South America were inhabited by many nations, tribes and communities of people whom we have collectively called Indians.

Advanced civilizations existed in Central and South America. The Mayans inhabited the Yucatan Peninsula. During the period from 1000 B.C. to 1517 A.D. they built approximately twenty elaborate ceremonial centers, developed a written language, a sophisticated calendar and an agricultural system. Worship took the form of a complicated religious system which included the production of remarkable works of art and the construction of stonefaced pyramids over two hundred feet in height. In the Valley of Mexico the Aztecs developed a civilization and empire which extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Aztecs also developed an advanced calendar, a viable political system and a complicated religion.

In North America people had learned to hunt and plant crops in organized groups and communities. Archaeological evidence confirms that corn was cultivated in North America as early as four to five thousand years ago. The cultures of each society included laws, religion, poetry and history. Although there were no written languages, the spoken language played an important role in transmitting the history and religion of these people. Poetry and law were also passed on to each new generation through the spoken word. At one time there were about two hundred different languages spoken in what is now the United States. Only fifty of these languages are still spoken by people today.

Each of these cultures was unique in the customs it developed and the communities it built. For example, Native Americans of the Northwest coastal region lived in houses made of giant cedar trees in which six to ten related families lived. American Indians in the Southeast farmed in community fields and kept their crops in community storehouses. In the Southwest Native Americans lived in pueblos or walled towns and villages. They were sedentary farmers who lived on corn and squash and lead an orderly political life. They valued highly living harmoniously with each other and with nature. Advanced communities and inventions could also be found in other areas. American Indians of the Northeast developed snowshoes and canoes for travel in winter and summer.

The quest for gold and riches led to the destruction and plunder of the Aztec and Mayan civilizations. Many heroic accounts of Spanish conquistadores such as Hernando Cortes, Nunez de Balboa, Vasquez de Coronado, and Francisco Pizarro can be found. However, the Indians who lived in the area of our present day United States were most threatened by European settlers. The first white settlers on the east coast originally cultivated the friendship of the Indians. They relied on them for sheer survival and in the process learned new agricultural methods and the cultivation of new crops such as corn, beans, tobacco. The settlers, in turn, brought with them a system of property ownership completely alien to the Indians. Through it, they increasingly began to push the Indians from their homelands. The Europeans brought with them diseases to which the Indians were not immune. They also brought with them a weapons system, based on firearms, for which the Indian bow and arrow were simply no match.

From 1637 on a series of wars, broken treaties, forced relocations, reduced the Indian populations and confined them to "reservations," which included some of the most inhospitable areas that could support only sparse vegetation and wildlife.

A good example is the displacement of the Indian tribes that inhabited Florida. Among these were the Tuscarora, Cherokee, Catawba, Natchez, Apache, Seminole, Cree. Spain ceded Florida to the United States in 1817 after a military victory. When Andrew Jackson was elected President in 1828, he wanted to ensure white domination of that area. In 1830 the Indian Removal Act was passed into law. The Cherokee Nation brought legal suit and won its case in the Supreme Court. However, the decision of the court was ignored and in 1838 and 1839 the federal government began the mass movement of the tribes from Florida to Oklahoma. The tribes were forced to leave their homelands and make the long trek

under extremely harrowing conditions of starvation, disease and abuse. They resettled in the barren lands of Oklahoma. In the process, many people perished. For example, one quarter of the Cherokee Nation died.

The Indians have not fared well under white domination. It is estimated that approximately two-and-one-half million people inhabited the U.S. during prehistoric times. By 1890 the Indian population had fallen to 250,000. Their numbers have gradually increased. The current Indian population is nearly 800,000. Approximately half of them are still living on reservations.

This loss of life was also accompanied by the disintegration and loss of many Indian cultures. One major force in this disintegration was the education of Indian children. Native American children were required to attend "boarding" schools which attempted to transmit the language and values of the dominant white culture. The children lived at these schools which often were far from their homes. Life at these schools was quite different from life in their Indian communities. The schools would not allow the children to speak their native language. They would not allow Indian food, dress, or celebrations. Often, Indian children were treated as "inferior." In these schools, they learned little about their own history or culture. They learned only the history of white America. It always showed the white people as "winners" and the Indians as "losers." When these children returned home, they did not fit into the Indian community. They no longer knew their own language or culture. Yet they did not fit into white society either. Schools took away the Native American culture without replacing it with anything else.

Mexican Americans

The history of Mexican Americans extends to the time of the Mayan and Aztec civilizations and the fusion of the Indian, Spanish, and Black people that has characterized the cultural development of Mexico. Contemporary Mexican American writers take pride in their historical roots. Their writings emphasize the concept of Aztlan, the spiritual home of the Aztecs, and la Raza, the race which emerged from Aztlan.

In the United States, the history of Mexican-Americans technically started in 1848. The area north of the Rio Grande River was conquered by the United States in the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848. When the U.S. gained these territories, it also acquired the Mexican people living in these areas. The area included the contemporary states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and Colorado. Thus, the history of Mexican-Americans is in part the story of a people who were conquered and found themselves in a large alien culture. In this respect it resembles the history of Native Americans. Their subsequent loss of rights and lands is yet another parallel to the the Indian experience.

The peace treaty between the U.S. and Mexico (the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo) guaranteed the personal and property rights of Mexican citizens in the conquered areas. Mexicans were given one year to decide whether they wanted to stay and become American citizens or leave and

keep their Mexican citizenship. Most people decided to stay. Many of the rights guaranteed by the treaty were lost as large waves of Americans from the East eager for land entered these areas. Land reform laws were passed which required landowners to validate their titles to the land and show proof of the exact boundaries of their land. The law put the burden of proof on the Mexican Americans. Many could not show proof of exact boundaries since this was not necessary under Mexican law. Many could not show proof of ownership. Eventually 75% of the land ownership was validated, but it took an average of 17 years to do so. During the process, many landowners became bankrupt and lost their lands anyhow. Under the U.S. the Mexican Americans of the 19th century lost their land, economic independence, and their status. By the end of the 19th century, they found themselves at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder throughout the Southwest.

The second aspect of the history of Mexican Americans resembles that of other immigrant groups. These groups immigrated to escape wars and political persecution, and to improve their living conditions. They faced economic exploitation in the low wages paid to them and various forms of prejudice and harassment. The first large wave of Mexican immigrants arrived in 1910. They fled from the internal revolution, disruption and poverty in Mexico.

Most immigrants came from poor agrarian backgrounds. They provided cheap labor for the growing Southwest, especially in three industries--railroads, agriculture, and mining. They were paid less than Anglo workers and were isolated physically, socially, and politically by being housed in labor camps and cheap housing near their work.

During the 1920's there was a great demand for farm workers in Southwest agriculture. Large numbers of Mexicans immigrated and filled these jobs in the hope of a better life. U.S. businesses also actively recruited Mexican workers, especially after 1924 when the U.S. severely limited immigration from Europe. This migration came to a halt during the depression of the 1930's. Local governments did not want to pay welfare support to unemployed Mexicans. They found it cheaper to load them onto trains and pay for their passage back to Mexico. Large numbers of Mexicans, many of whom were born in the U.S. and were citizens of the U.S., were arbitrarily deported to Mexico.

The Mexican immigrants who came to the U.S. during the 1950's and 1960's came mainly out of economic necessity. During this time over half a million entered the U.S. legally and two to four million crossed the border illegally as wetbacks; others were recruited as <u>braceros</u> or temporary workers.

Usually immigrants have entered the labor force at the lowest level and gradually raised their standard of living and income. The Mexicans also entered the labor force at the lowest level but improvement of their economic condition has remained exceptionally difficult. Large illegal immigration, programs of braceros, blue carders, green carders and other temporary employment programs have served to keep wages exceptionally low. The government again tried to intervene through "Operation Wetback" of 1954 in which more than one million illegal aliens

were deported. Although it was economically successful, it served further to alienate the Mexican American community.

Unlike most immigrant groups, Mexican Americans have not assimilated easily into American life. One reason for this is the continued contact with their mother culture. Another one is their continued low economic position. In recent years Mexican Americans have not accepted passively their condition of poverty and prejudice. Movements like La Causa have demanded changes in unequal income, inferior education, housing and prejudice. Cesar Chavez in his strike against the California grape growers exemplifies the insistence on equality of living conditions and pride among Mexican Americans.

Asian Americans

Chinese Americans have their roots in one of the world's oldest civilizations, the Chinese Empire. It flourished long before the development of European civilizations. In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, living conditions in China were difficult. Farming was hard and local military chiefs kept the farmers poor through high taxes.

The immigration of Chinese to the U.S. started in the middle of the 19th century, the first immigrants arriving in 1848. California at this time was a pioneer frontier. Because of the shortage of women, many Chinese took jobs usually reserved for women--laundry, domestic service, cooking. When construction of the Central Pacific railroad started, Chinese were sought as railroad workers. During the 1870's ten to twenty thousand Chinese were employed on the railroad. Thousands more were imported from China. Chinese workers laid more miles of track than any other group. However, railroad work was difficult and dangerous. Over two thousand Chinese died in accidents.

When the need for cheap labor ended, trouble came to the Chinese. Prejudice against them began in the mining camps. White speculators wanted to reduce competition and managed to exclude the Chinese from prospecting because they were foreigners. On the railroad gangs they became objects of ridicule because they would work for lower wages than whites. Within a short time a wave of resentment against the Chinese developed. An embittered Irishman, Dennis Kearney, started a campaign against the Chinese. His slogan "the Chinese must go" was soon repeated and fostered by San Francisco newspapers. The newspapers pictured Kearney as the champion of the downtrodden white working man. Other institutions joined in and endorsed these prejudices. The "Coolies" became the object of mob law, suffering extreme cruelties and indignities. The anti-Chinese campaign in the newspapers and popular literature fostered the idea of a "Yellow Peril" which was about to challenge the supremacy of the superior white race. It was feared that hordes of Chinese would overrun and dominate this country.

By the 1880's, federal legislation was passed which legalized many prejudices. The Exclusion Act of 1882 stopped all immigration of Chinese laborers to this country. Within the next ten years Congress passed thirteen more discriminatory laws against the Chinese. The Chinese

Exclusion Act was not changed until 1943, when China became an ally to the U.S. during World War II.

While job discrimination against the Chinese still exists, the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's has reduced some of the prejudice.

Another group of Asian Americans who came to the U.S. during the middle of the 19th century are the Japanese Americans. They, too, came mainly for economic reasons. For many farmers the land had become depleted and was too poor to yield any crops. Industrialization caused many others to live in extreme poverty. Thus, most of the early Japanese came from agricultural backgrounds while others were common laborers.

Many Japanese immigrants worked as agricultural laborers for white farmers for very low wages. Gradually they acquired their own small farms and applied their technical skills and knowledge to the cultivation of much raw land.

Unlike the Chinese immigrants, the Japanese did not live in urban ghettos. They also settled over a larger geographic area and thus avoided ghetto life and the domination of others.

In spite of their advancement in American culture, they were not spared the prejudice and abuse that grew out of the anti-Oriental movement and the fears of the "Yellow Peril." The charges against the Japanese were based on several factors. The most important one was economic. Like the Chinese they underbid and outworked the white laborer. They took little part in political life and were accused of being exclusive. They were also accused of being too proud, because they did not accept the position of inferiors.

The campaign against the Japanese began in 1906 when the San Francisco school board ordered all Japanese students (93 in all) to attend a segregated Oriental school. Japan had early started a tradition which did not approve the mistreatment of its people in any part of the world. Japan in the early part of the century was an emerging world power. It protested the treatment of Japanese in the United States. Japan and the U.S. Government intervened in this situation. The result was the "Gentlemen's Agreement" in 1907 which limited the number of Japanese immigrants to the U.S. Californians, however, were not satisfied with this agreement and in 1930 passed the alien land legislation. It prohibited aliens who were not eligible for U.S. citizenship from owning land. This applied only to Asians who for a long period were not allowed to become citizens of the U.S.

The most severe discrimination suffered by Japanese occurred during World War II. On February 12, 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt issued an executive order authorizing the incarceration of Japanese on the West coast in detention camps. This order grew out of the fear of increasing public hysteria that the Japanese were all potential spies and would support Japan rather than the U.S. 110,000 Japanese were incarcerated in these camps. 70,000 of them were born in the United States. The Japanese were forced to get rid of their possessions. It is estimated that they lost over fifty million dollars. They were held in the deten-

tion camps until 1945. It is interesting to point out that the U.S. was also at war with Germany and Italy. But it did not place German Americans or Italian Americans in detention camps. Many writers see this act as an expression of racism.

Japanese Americans who wanted to fight for America during World War II were allowed to do so. They were placed in two segregated Army groups. One of these, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, became the best fighting force in the United States Army and the most decorated unit in United States history. Sixty percent of the soldiers of this combat team were killed or wounded while fighting in Europe. This was the greatest loss suffered by any unit in the Army.

After World War II ended, it was proven that not one Japanese American served as a spy for Japan. The harsh treatment of the Japanese Americans was completely unjustified. However, the vast majority of Japanese Americans stayed in the United States, even after being treated so harshly, and made significant contributions to American society.

Who Are These People? Black Americans

How much do you know about the contributions of minority individuals? How much do you know about the contributions of Black Americans? You can test your knowledge in this exercise. Match the person with the contribution that person made to our society. Leave blank those answers which you do not know. How many blank answers are there?

NAME		CONTRIBUTION
1. Fannie Lou Hamer	_____	Born in 1917, a primitive painter who painted mostly scenes from Afro-American history.
2. Charles Drew	_____	He began the National Negro Business League in 1900. It became an important American political force. His advice was sought by presidents and other important leaders.
3. George Washington Carver	_____	Mayor of Los Angeles
4. Mary McLeod Bethune	_____	Worked with Thomas Edison and invented the incandescent light bulb.
5. Booker T. Washington	_____	An abolitionist and fighter for human rights and world peace; helped Abraham Lincoln to form the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Black Regiments.
6. Ralph Bunche	_____	Born in 1872, was a great poet and writer; first book of poetry was published in 1895, called Oak and Ivy.
7. Frederick Douglass	_____	Freedom fighter who formed the new Mississippi Democratic Party.
8. Martin Luther King, Jr.	_____	Escaped from slavery in 1820; during the Civil War she was a spy for the North, a nurse, and an abolitionist. She made 19 journeys on the "Underground Railroad," helping other Afro-Americans to escape.
9. Marian Anderson	_____	A track star who won three gold medals at the Rome Olympics in 1960.
10. Leontyne Price	_____	Founded Chicago. His contribution was officially recognized in 1968.
11. Phyllis Wheatley	_____	This opera singer made her debut in 1961 and is considered one of the greatest operatic singers in the world.

12. Jean Baptiste DeSable _____ Former chairperson of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. Militant in his efforts to gain complete liberation and equality for Black people. He was the first to use the phrase "Black Power" widely.

13. Jacob Lawrence _____ Pioneer in the use of blood plasma. He was in charge of the first Red Cross blood bank begun in 1941.

14. Langston Hughes _____ United Nations Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs, recipient of Nobel Peace Prize in 1950.

15. Harriet Tubman _____ Born in Africa and brought here as a slave, her first poem was published when she was 14. She wrote poetry for George Washington.

16. Rosa Parks _____ Founder of a Florida college for Black women. Became a leading member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Black Cabinet."

17. Matthew Hensen _____ Attended and taught at Tuskegee Institute. He made dozens of products from sweet potatoes and peanuts.

18. Lewis H. Latimer _____ One of the greatest women of opera in this country. When she first sought vocal training, she was told: "We don't take colored."

19. Paul Dunbar _____ A star on the track team and always on the honor roll; became a famous poet and author.

20. Wilma Rudolph _____ In 1955 she refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white man in Montgomery, Ala. Her actions resulted in a one year boycott of the buses and eventual court action requiring the bus companies to change their rules.

21. Stokeley Carmichael _____ He was a minister who worked to get civil rights for Afro-Americans. He won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964 and was assassinated in 1968.

22. Shirley Chisholm _____ She ran for the office of President of the United States. She is presently a Congresswoman.

23. Thomas Bradley _____ He was the first man ever to stand on the North Pole on April 6, 1909. He spoke eight languages and traveled widely. He won the Congressional Medal of Honor.

24. Edward Brooke _____ Former U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, the first Black U.S. Senator since reconstruction times.

Who Are These People?

Hispanic Americans

Carlos Finlay

Julian Nava

Joseph Montoya

Rafael Hernandez

J. M. de les Reyes

Romana Acosta Banvelos

Polish Americans

Casimir Pulaski

Helena Modjeska

Casimir Funk

Emil Konopinski

Leopold Stokowski

Ralph Modjeski

Italian Americans

Colonel Francis Vigo

Mother Francis Cabrini

Constantino Brunidi

Arturo Toscanini

Fiorello LaGuardia

Edward Corsi

Czech Americans

Frederick Novy

Alois Kovarik

Zdenek Kopal

George Placzek

Rudolf Friml

Anton Cermak

Chinese Americans

Ah Louis

Lyman Jee

Thomas Hum

T. D. Lee

C. N. Yang

C. S. Wu

Japanese Americans

Minour Yamasaki

Isamy Noguchi

S. I. Hayakawa

Daniel K. Inouye

Masayuki Matsumaga

Hideyo Noguchi

CHAPTER 3

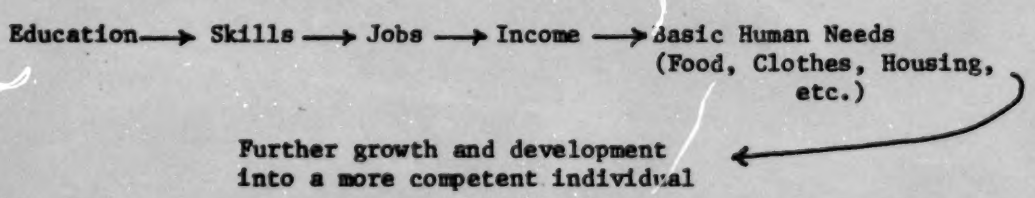
MINORITY GROUPS IN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Education, Employment, and Satisfying Basic Human Needs

There is no other institution in which we have invested more of our hopes, aspiration, and ambitions than the school. Education for many Americans is seen as the vehicle through which low social status and poverty are overcome. It is seen as the promise of self-fulfillment, the development and enjoyment of talents, and a fuller productive life in society. Education has traditionally served as a vehicle through which immigrant groups could enter middle-class life and escape city ghettos and positions of menial labor.

For some minority groups this route to an improved way of life has been remarkably difficult. Many obstacles prevented them from obtaining a good education. Think about the implications of this. School is a place where we develop our skills, become more competent, and prepare ourselves for a variety of jobs. Without good schools it would be far more difficult to develop certain skills and competencies. These are skills which are necessary for many responsible jobs. When people have received an unequal education, they have unequal opportunities for good jobs. Their ability to meet basic human needs for food and housing are limited. Their income is limited and they will not be able to afford to get training for a better job, or to live in areas with better schools. This means that their children will also get a poor education.

As you can see, the quality of our education has a very important impact on our future. It determines the skills and training we receive. These affect the kind of job we can hold successfully. Our jobs determine our income, which affects the housing, food, clothing, and activities we can afford. The degree to which we can take care of basic human needs affects the satisfaction we feel with life and the time and energy we have for becoming more competent individuals.



For a long time Black Americans, Mexican Americans, and other minority groups were not given adequate opportunities for a good education. Schools were segregated so that members of racial minorities were not allowed to go to the same schools that white children attended. People claimed that there was nothing wrong with Blacks being forced to have "separate" education as long as it was "equal" to the education of whites. However, these schools were not equal. They had less money. They were more crowded and had fewer teachers, buildings, books, and less equipment for their students.

In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that "separate but equal" schools were illegal. The Court ordered schools to desegregate so that Black and white children would attend classes together and share the same opportunities. In the words of the Supreme Court: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.... Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors be equal, deprives the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities.... In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.... To separate [Negro children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

Even though this became the law, there are still many cities today where racial minorities are not given as good an education as white children are. Conditions are improving but equality remains a goal to be worked for.

Education for non-white Americans has improved

a. The diagrams below represent all the white Americans and non-white Americans in the United States about one hundred years ago. Twelve percent of white Americans could not read or write. Contrast this with the 80% of non-whites who could not read or write.

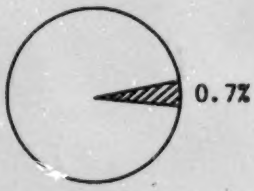
1870

Non-whites who could not read or write

Whites who could not read or write

However, one hundred years later (1969) the number of non-white Americans who could not read or write had grown much smaller.

1969



Non-whites who could not read or write

Whites who could not read or write

b. More and more Black students are completing high school instead of dropping out of school early. This means that they will be better trained for jobs and have higher incomes. The diagrams below represent all of the Black American adults (25-34 years old) alive in the United States during a certain year. The shaded part of the circles shows how many Black adults had completed high school at that time. Notice the proportion becoming larger as we go from the past to the present. Today a much larger proportion of Blacks are completing high school and are better trained with skills for jobs.

1940	1950	1960	1970	1974
11%	20%	33%	56%	67%

(U.S. Department of Commerce, 1974)

Facts About People: True/False Format

How much do you know about the income and education of minority people? You can test your knowledge in this exercise. The statements below describe facts about the income and education of minority groups. Read each statement carefully. If you think a statement is true, write a "T" next to it. If it is false, write an "F" next to it.

____ 1. More Black students drop out of high schools than do white students.

____ 2. About half as many Black adults (age 25 and over) have completed four or more years of college in comparison to white adults.

____ 3. About half as many Black adults (age 25 and over) have graduated from high school in comparison to white adults.

____ 4. One-third of Black adults and one-third of Mexican American adults have completed less than five years of schooling.

____ 5. For every dollar that a white person earns, a Black person earns fifty cents.

____ 6. Five percent of Black males and three percent of Black females earn $10,000 or more.

____ 7. Little over one-quarter of minority families have incomes that are below poverty level.

____ 8. The unemployment of Black youths (age 16-19) is over twice as much as it is for white youths.

____ 9. About one-third of Black Americans hold white-collar jobs.

____ 10. About twice as many Blacks hold service jobs (do household work) as do whites.

____ 11. Sixty-seven percent of all white families own their own homes.

____ 12. Forty-four percent of all minorities own their own homes.

____ 13. Over half of all minority groups live in rented dwellings.

____ 14. About twice as many white households own a color TV as do Black households.

____ 15. About ten times as many Black families as white families live in dwellings that lack some or all plumbing.

____ 16. The income of Black families is half as much as that of white families.

____ 17. Sixty-five percent of adult whites (age 25 and over) have graduated from high school.

____ 18. Fifty percent of minority adults (age 25 and over) have graduated from high school.

____ 19. The median years of schooling completed by all Americans is fourteen years.

____ 20. The median years of schooling completed by Native Americans is twelve years.

____ 21. Eleven percent of whites hold managerial and administrative jobs.

____ 22. Ten percent of Blacks hold managerial and administrative jobs.

Minority Groups in Education and Employment: Readings

Barriers to the education of minority groups have always existed. These barriers have taken different forms over the centuries. They have ranged from laws that prohibited the education of Black slaves to practices of segregated Black and white schools, to the lack of good schools, facilities, and economic support for schools attended by minority students. Minority individuals who acquired a good education did so through exceptional effort, dedication, and love of learning. Their environments usually provided few opportunities for their minds and talents to flourish.

One such example was Booker T. Washington. He was born the son of a slave. The circumstances of his life one century ago differed from those faced by contemporary minority individuals. However, Booker T. Washington and many of his counterparts today continue to share the obstacles presented by poverty, lack of opportunity, and the "presumption" that they will not succeed.

Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm gives an assessment of the education Blacks have received. On the whole, education has served to keep Blacks in a subservient position. To change this situation, she calls for Blacks to take control of their own educational institutions in order to end the practice of "half-training" individuals.

In the last reading Whitney Young outlines the changes needed for an equitable life for Blacks in his address, "Agenda for the Future." This agenda includes economic improvement and employment, better health care, improved education, and better housing.

Up from Slavery*

Booker T. Washington

The first thing I ever learned in the way of book knowledge was while working in this salt-furnace. Each saltpacker had his barrels marked with a certain number. The number allotted to my stepfather was "18." At the close of the day's work the boss of the packers would come around and put "18" on each of our barrels, and I soon learned to recognize that figure wherever I saw it, and after a while got to the point where I could make that figure, though I knew nothing about any other figures or letters.

From the time that I can remember having any thoughts about anything, I recall that I had an intense longing to learn to read. I determined, when quite a small child, that, if I accomplished nothing else in life, I would in some way get enough education to enable me to read common books and newspapers. Soon after we got settled in some manner in our new cabin in West Virginia, I induced my mother to get hold of a book for me. How or where she got it I do not know, but in some way she procured an old copy of Webster's "blue-back" spelling-book, which contained the alphabet, followed by such meaningless words as "ab," "ba," "ca," "da." I began at once to devour this book, and I think that it

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*From Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc.

was the first one I ever had in my hands. I had learned from somebody that the way to begin to read was to learn the alphabet, so I tried in all the ways I could think of to learn it--all of course without a teacher, for I could find no one to teach me. At that time there was not a single member of my race anywhere near us who could read, and I was too timid to approach any of the white people. In some way, within a few weeks, I mastered the greater portion of the alphabet. In all my efforts to learn to read my mother shared fully my ambition, and sympathized with me and aided me in every way she could. Though she was totally ignorant, so far as mere book knowledge was concerned, she had high ambitions for her children, and a large fund of good, hard, common sense which seemed to enable her to meet and master every situation. If I have done anything in life worth attention, I feel sure that I inherited the disposition from my mother.

In the midst of my struggles and longing for an education, a young coloured boy who had learned to read in the state of Ohio came to Malden. As soon as the coloured people found out that he could read, a newspaper was secured, and at the close of nearly every day's work this young man would be surrounded by a group of men and women who were anxious to hear him read the news contained in the papers. How I used to envy this man! He seemed to me to be the one young man in all the world who ought to be satisfied with his attainments.

About this time the question of having some kind of a school opened for the coloured children in the village began to be discussed by members of the race. As it would be the first school for Negro children that had ever been opened in that part of Virginia, it was, of course, to be a great event, and the discussion excited the widest interest. The most perplexing question was where to find a teacher. The young man from Ohio who had learned to read the papers was considered, but his age was against him. In the midst of the discussion about a teacher, another young coloured man from Ohio who had been a soldier, in some way found his way into town. It was soon learned that he possessed considerable education, and he was engaged by the coloured people to teach their first school. As yet no free schools had been started for coloured people in that section, hence each family agreed to pay a certain amount per month, with the understanding that the teacher was to "board 'round"--that is, spend a day with each family. This was not bad for the teacher, for each family tried to provide the very best on the day the teacher was to be its guest. I recall that I looked forward with an anxious appetite to the "teacher's day" at our little cabin.

This experience of a whole race beginning to go to school for the first time, presents one of the most interesting studies that has ever occurred in connection with the development of any race. Few people who were not right in the midst of the scenes can form any exact idea of the intense desire which the people of my race showed for an education. As I have stated, it was a whole race trying to go to school. Few were too young, and none too old, to make the attempt to learn. As fast as any kind of teachers could be secured, not only were day-schools filled, but night-schools as well. The great ambition of the older people was to try to learn to read the Bible before they died. With this end in view, men and women who were fifty or seventy-five years old would often

be found in the night-school. Sunday-schools were formed soon after freedom, but the principal book studied in the Sunday-school was the spelling-book. Day-school, night-school, Sunday-school, were always crowded, and often many had to be turned away for want of room.

The opening of the school in the Kanawha Valley, however, brought to me one of the keenest disappointments that I ever experienced. I had been working in a salt-furnace for several months, and my stepfather had discovered that I had a financial value, and so, when the school opened, he decided that he could not spare me from my work. This decision seemed to cloud my every ambition. The disappointment was made all the more severe by reason of the fact that my place of work was where I could see the happy children passing to and from school, mornings and afternoons. Despite this disappointment, however, I determined that I would learn something, anyway. I applied myself with greater earnestness than ever to the mastering of what was in the "blue-back" speller.

My mother sympathized with me in my disappointment, and sought to comfort me in all the ways she could, and to help me find a way to learn. After a while I succeeded in making arrangements with the teacher to give me some lessons at night, after the day's work was done. These night lessons were so welcome that I think I learned more at night than the other children did during the day. My own experiences in the night-school gave me faith in the night-school idea, with which, in after years, I had to do both at Hampton and Tuskegee. But my boyish heart was still set upon going to the day-school, and I let no opportunity slip to push my case. Finally I won, and was permitted to go to the school in the day for a few months, with the understanding that I was to rise early in the morning and work in the furnace till nine o'clock, and return immediately after school closed in the afternoon for at least two more hours of work.

The schoolhouse was some distance from the furnace, and as I had to work till nine o'clock, and the school opened at nine, I found myself in a difficulty. School would always be begun before I reached it, and sometimes my class had recited. To get around this difficulty I yielded to a temptation for which most people, I suppose, will condemn me; but since it is a fact, I might as well state it. I have great faith in the power and influence of facts. It is seldom that anything is permanently gained by holding back a fact. There was a large clock in a little office in the furnace. This clock, of course, all the hundred or more workmen depended upon to regulate their hours of beginning and ending the day's work. I got the idea that the way for me to reach school on time was to move the clock hands from half-past eight up to the nine o'clock mark. This I found myself doing morning after morning, till the furnace "boss" discovered that something was wrong, and locked the clock in a case. I did not mean to inconvenience anybody. I simply meant to reach that schoolhouse in time.

When, however, I found myself at the school for the first time, I also found myself confronted with two other difficulties. In the first place, I found that all of the other children wore hats or caps on their heads, and I had neither hat nor cap. In fact, I do not remember that up to the time of going to school I had ever worn any kind of covering

upon my head, nor do I recall that either I or anybody else had even thought anything about the need of covering for my head. But, of course, when I saw how all the other boys were dressed, I began to feel quite uncomfortable. As usual, I put the case before my mother, and she explained to me that she had no money with which to buy a "store hat," which was a rather new institution at that time among the members of my race and was considered quite the thing for young and old to own, but that she would find a way to help me out of the difficulty. She accordingly got two pieces of "homespun" (jeans) and sewed them together, and I was soon the proud possessor of my first cap.

The lesson that my mother taught me in this has always remained with me, and I have tried as best I could to teach it to others. I have always felt proud, whenever I think of the incident, that my mother had strength of character enough not to be led into the temptation of seeming to be that which she was not—of trying to impress my schoolmates and others with the fact that she was able to buy me a "store hat" when she was not. I have always felt proud that she refused to go into debt for that which she did not have the money to pay for. Since that time I have owned many kinds of caps and hats, but never one of which I have felt so proud as of the cap made of the two pieces of cloth sewed together by my mother. I have noted the fact, but without satisfaction, I need not add, that several of the boys who began their careers with "store hats" and who were my schoolmates and used to join in the sport that was made of me because I had only a "homespun" cap, have ended their careers in the penitentiary, while others are not able now to buy any kind of hat.

My second difficulty was with regard to my name, or rather a name. From the time when I could remember anything, I had been called simply "Booker." Before going to school it had never occurred to me that it was needful or appropriate to have an additional name. When I heard the school-roll called, I noticed that all of the children had at least two names, and some of them indulged in what seemed to me the extravagance of having three. I was in deep perplexity, because I knew that the teacher would demand of me at least two names, and I had only one. By the time the occasion came for the enrolling of my name, an idea occurred to me which I thought would make me equal to the situation; and so, when the teacher asked me what my full name was, I calmly told him "Booker Washington," as if I had been called by that name all my life; and by that name I have since been known. Later in life I found that my mother had given me the name of "Booker Taliaferro" soon after I was born, but in some way that part of my name seemed to disappear, and for a long while was forgotten, but as soon as I found out about it I revived it, and made my full name "Booker Taliaferro Washington." I think there are not many men in our country who have had the privilege of naming themselves in the way I have.

More than once I have tried to picture myself in the position of a boy or man with an honoured and distinguished ancestry which I could trace back through a period of hundreds of years, and who had not only inherited a name, but fortune and a proud family homestead; and yet I have sometimes had the feeling that if I had inherited these, and had been a member of a more popular race, I should have been inclined to

yield to the temptation of depending upon my ancestry and my colour to do that for me which I should do for myself. Years ago I resolved that because I had no ancestry myself I would leave a record of which my children would be proud, and which might encourage them to still higher effort.

The world should not pass judgment upon the Negro, and especially the Negro youth, too quickly or too harshly. The Negro boy has obstacles, discouragement, and temptations to battle with that are little known to those not situated as he is. When a white boy undertakes a task, it is taken for granted that he will succeed. On the other hand, people are usually surprised if the Negro boy does not fail. In a word, the Negro youth starts out with the presumption against him.

The influence of ancestry, however, is important in helping forward any individual or race, if too much reliance is not placed upon it. Those who constantly direct attention to the Negro youth's moral weaknesses, and compare his advancement with that of white youths, do not consider the influence of the memories which cling about the old family homesteads. I have no idea, as I have stated elsewhere, who my grandmother was. I have, or have had, uncles and aunts and cousins, but I have no knowledge as to what most of them are. My case will illustrate that of hundreds of thousands of black people in every part of our country. The very fact that the white boy is conscious that, if he fails in life, he will disgrace the whole family record, extending back through many generations, is of tremendous value in helping him to resist temptations. The fact that the individual has behind and surrounding him proud family history and connection serves as a stimulus to help him to overcome obstacles when striving for success.

The time that I was permitted to attend school during the day was short, and my attendance was irregular. It was not long before I had to stop attending day-school altogether, and devote all of my time again to work. I resorted to the night-school again. In fact, the greater part of the education I secured in my boyhood was gathered through the night-school after my day's work was done. I had difficulty often in securing a satisfactory teacher. Sometimes, after I had secured some one to teach me at night, I would find, much to my disappointment, that the teacher knew but little more than I did. Often I would have to walk several miles at night in order to recite my night-school lessons. There was never a time in my youth, no matter how dark and discouraging the days might be, when one resolve did not continually remain with me, and that was a determination to secure an education at any cost.

Speaking Out*

Shirley Chisholm

Education, no doubt, is the key to long-range progress, although jobs and decent housing are the immediate needs.... Education alone will not be enough, even a college education. And it is obvious that not all blacks any more than all whites are college material, as we now define college. For the most part, the education provided for black children is a kind designed to keep them in their place. The story starts way back, during the time after the Civil War when at least three white groups were contending for control of the four million freed slaves. Abolitionists and other northern liberals wanted to educate the freedmen to "level all vestiges of the past," as Horace Mann Bond put it. If they had prevailed, American history would have been far different. But of course they could not prevail. Arrayed against them were southern conservatives and southern liberals, each with their own ideas, and they were strengthened by the uninterested, apathetic majority in the North.

The southern conservative knew education for blacks meant potential black economic and political power.... Eventually they prevailed, with the help where needed of terrorist forces like the Klan, and reestablished white supremacy with the infamous Black Codes, legitimized by the disgraceful Supreme Court "separate but equal" doctrine. Schools, medical care, the protection of the law--all were denied to black citizens as a matter of public policy in most of the South....

There is another approach, that of using education as a means of continuing control over the lives of black people.

Many writers have pointed out, and I have used the analogy myself in speeches, that American blacks are in the position of a colonial population. They have been compelled to adopt the cultural standards and norms of their rulers in order to make any advancement whatever. But American blacks have been denied the option of a true colonized population; they have no true culture of their own to oppose to that of their exploiters, because theirs was systematically destroyed by the slave masters. They are uniquely vulnerable; it has been for them a choice of conform or die.

How can blacks be kept in a subordinate role forever? By using their vulnerability, the constraint they were under to conform to white values. It could best be done through the schools, to which blacks naturally flocked after the Civil War. They could be educated for service, and nothing else, and inculcated with attitudes of docility and industry. Many such schools were long ago established for blacks, if need be at private expense; if the schools were public, their programs were controlled to the same end.

Through the years I have heard black parents by the hundreds tell a modern, metropolitan version of the story: how their children, even if talented, were steered by teachers and counselors to a narrow range

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*From Unbought and Unbossed by Shirley Chisholm. Copyright © 1970 by Shirley Chisholm. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

of jobs, to courses in vocational training, practical nursing, hairdressing, and so forth -- never to academic courses that could lead to a professional or business career. Even now, there are very few black or Puerto Rican students graduated with academic diplomas from Brooklyn high schools....

The days of mind-deadening "industrial education" and of turning out half-trained black professionals to practice in the black community are not yet past, and it is time that they were. This chapter in the history of black America is another proof of the justice of black demands for control of their own institutions, particularly the schools. How can we trust even the most benevolent-appearing white, when we have seen through the years how a trap was concealed in nearly every "gift" we have been offered?

Agenda for the Future

Whitney M. Young, Jr.*

This 1965 Conference of the National Urban League finds us at an all-important midpoint of the 1960's, a decade which has been characterized as the "Decade of the Social Revolution," a decade which history will undoubtedly label as containing the most dramatic and provocative phase of the civil rights movement. This is not to imply that the revolution began at the end of 1959 or that it will end in 1970, for surely its seeds were sown many, many years earlier, during the era of slavery some three hundred years ago and refertilized in the 1860s with the Emancipation Proclamation—which decreed only in fact freedom for the Negro.

And whether or not it ends in 1970 will depend on how effective we have been in destroying the roots of despair and disillusionment and transplanting the seeds of hope and promise into the more fertile soil of plenty and prosperity.

Today, we recognize a new mood of the Negro. Many factors have contributed to bring this about: World War II; the media of mass communication which awakened the nation's conscience; legal gains too long delayed; and numerous other catalysts which helped the Negro citizen's determination for equality to burst into full bloom at the start of this decade.

Today, the Negro citizen--in all of his achievements, his gains, his plights, his miseries--stands tall as never before; and it is our purpose at this National Urban League Conference—we who have contributed significantly to this new stature of the Negro—to fully survey our journey, to reassess our progress, and to outline an agenda for the future that will assure real, honest communication between all peoples . . . .

The Negro citizen wants racial peace, yes; but a peace based on justice. He wants order, yes; but, as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.,

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*Whitney M. Young, Jr., was former executive director of the National Urban League, Inc.

phrased it, an order based on law--the same law for black men as for white. We, as Negro citizens, stand for progress, yes--but a progress in which our role is that of equals and brothers--in which the progress of our nation is based on partnership, not on paternalism . . . .

As for the Urban League, our role was never more clear--never more necessary. For as we share with our courageous brothers the task of reducing the more visible barriers of race, our primary responsibility is to ensure that Negro citizens have the qualifications and the resources with which to take advantage of the opening doors.

Jointly, we have created a glorious revolution to change the spirit, laws, and institutions of America. And we of the Urban League must focus on the next phase--one that is every bit as critical and as difficult as those that have gone before. This phase must be a revolution of fulfillment that will call forth all the grandeur and greatness that is in our people . . . .

Our goal, therefore, must be to seek to establish a standard of life for all men in which such social pathologies are eliminated. Only this can lead to real fulfillment--to the achievement by each human being of his or her highest, God-given potential. And this can be a more powerful weapon in our international competition for the minds of men than atomic achievements or a successful landing on the moon. As the late novelist Albert Camus once wrote, the only true nobility lies not in being superior to others but in becoming superior to one's former self.

A comparison of the status of the Negro race with even the present inadequate level of the general society indicates how far we have to go to close the gap. And for those who assert they are tired of hearing these facts, I say we are tired of living these facts. We are tired of seeing every second colored family living in poverty, as compared with every fifth white family. We are tired of trying to live on an annual income of only 55 percent of that enjoyed by the majority of American families. We are tired of an unemployment rate more than twice that of white workers.

We can no longer endure a condition in which nearly twice as many Negro infants as whites die during their first year of life because of discriminatory medical care--an infant mortality rate of forty per one thousand live births, as compared with twenty-two for white babies.

We cannot bear witness to 44 percent of our citizens living in slums, compared with 13 percent of whites--and a rate of overcrowding three times as great . . . .

Therefore, with the future of the Negro family in mind, the National Urban League hereby submits a clarion call for--

1. An immediate program of economic improvement that will include retraining for those automated from their jobs, and a massive program of public works and urban rehabilitation designed not only to rehabilitate our land and urban centers but also, as a basic consideration, to assure

gainful employment for every individual in the labor market of this country . . . .

2. A more realistic meeting of the health and welfare needs of individuals and families. Guaranteed minimum income must be accompanied by maximum standards for health and medical care, corrective as well as preventive. We need to develop a nationwide network of community health and information centers. We need a national health insurance plan that would assure quality medical care for all our citizens.

We need a nationwide network of community clinics--urban and rural--where decentralized services can be taken practically to the doorstep of the ghetto resident.

We need a major effort to break the color line in child adoptions, such as we have been able to do in employment. The courts and the foundling homes today must abandon the use of racial factors in adoptions. Too many child welfare agencies are guilty of rank discrimination in preventing childless white couples from adopting Negro babies. And we need, at the same time, more concern on the part of Negro middle-class families and more responsiveness from them to the cries of the homeless . . . .

3. The improvement of our educational levels and our educational systems. We are all familiar with the failure of the American educational system to provide good schools for all--and particularly for Negro children and youth. I will not chronicle again the long list of abuses which Negro pupils must live with every day in the slum schools of America. Anyone who denies that our children are receiving the poorest education, the poorest instruction, that they are exposed to the poorest facilities, the poorest texts, is just plain out of touch with reality.

Underlying the Urban League's approach to this problem must be the conviction that education today is truly a national issue, and that we will rise or fall as a nation depending on whether we succeed in setting standards and providing resources so that we may educate the American people for living and working in--and contributing to--the national society, rather than merely a regional or local area. We have become a mobile nation . . . .

4. A broader and more realistic housing program that will disperse future public housing and permit low income families to purchase homes, and the establishment of a federal fair housing law to break up the immoral and restrictive covenants which have produced a system of intolerable and inhumane ghettos.

To deny Negroes a place to live because of their color is a conspiracy in restraint of trade. With few exceptions our appeals to the housing industry have been a monument to futility. We need a ringing national affirmation of our intention to do what is right not simply to refrain from doing what is wrong. We need a federal civil rights act for housing--an act which will open the doors for Negro families in today's existing market . . . .

The agenda for the future which I have outlined here tonight does not pretend to detail all of the various needs and remedies of our society. These needs will be met and remedies found--if we will them. The important consideration is whether or not we have the fortitude to enable Negro citizens to achieve fulfillment—as well as to help millions of white citizens . . . .

The life of man is made up of two parts. He lives as a social animal in the larger world and as an individual within his own internal world. The movement for civil rights must grapple with both. It must ask Negro citizens to strive for excellence just as it demands of white citizens that they strive for equality.

Just as we press for equality without, we must prepare for excellence within. To win one without the other is to lead half a life, a dismal, stifling existence, devoid of meaning, usefulness, and fulfillment.

This knowledge is sure to be greeted by many without enthusiasm. Some of us will resent the standard of excellence as an imposition, just as inflexible whites regard equality as an affront.

Our pains and sorrows are by no means concluded. In a hundred Harlems, the grief of our people is great. But so is our hope, our fortitude, our courage, our faith, and our spirit. Once again we hear the roar of the mighty waters of which Frederick Douglass spoke—the steady and relentless drumming of the tides of change upon the shores of our national life. Beyond today's struggle, however, I believe there lies a tranquil sea upon which we may one day embark. Our vision must look forward toward it—the promise of a society of equality and excellence, of justice and of unity, undivided by distinctions of race, unshackled by issues of class, unbowed by fears of want.

CHAPTER 4

PEOPLE EXPERIENCE APPRAISAL

The following reading selections describe true life experiences with appraisal. Notice the kind of judgments that are made in each selection. Think about how these appraisals affect the people who were involved. How do you think you would react if something like this happened to you?

I Did Not Really Understand What It Meant to Be a Negro*

Daisy Lee Bates

I was born Daisy Lee Gatson in the little sawmill town of Huttig, in southern Arkansas. . . . As I grew up in this town, I knew I was a Negro, but I did not really understand what that meant until I was seven years old. My parents, as do most Negro parents, protected me as long as possible from the inevitable insult and humiliation that is, in the South, part of being "colored". . . .

One afternoon, shortly after my seventh birthday, my mother called me in from play.

"I'm not feeling well," she said. "You'll have to go to the market to get the meat for dinner."

I was thrilled with such an important errand. I put on one of my prettiest dresses and my mother brushed my hair. She gave me a dollar and instructions to get a pound of center-cut pork chops. I skipped happily all the way to the market.

When I entered the market, there were several white adults waiting to be served. When the butcher had finished with them, I gave him my order. More white adults entered. The butcher turned from me and took their orders. I was a little annoyed but felt since they were grownups it was all right. While he was waiting on the adults, a little white girl came in and we talked while we waited.

The butcher finished with the adults, looked down at us and asked, "What do you want, little girl?" I smiled and said, "I told you before, a pound of center-cut pork chops." He snarled, "I'm not talking to you," and again asked the white girl what she wanted. She also wanted a pound of center-cut pork chops.

"Please may I have my meat?" I said, as the little girl left. The butcher took my dollar from the counter, reached into the showcase, got a handful of fat chops and wrapped them up. Thrusting the package at me, he said, "Niggers have to wait 'til I wait on the white people. Now take your meat and get out of here!" I ran all the way home crying.

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*From Daisy Lee Bates, The Long Shadow of Little Rock: A Memoir. Copyright © 1962 Daisy Lee Bates. Reprinted by permission of the David McKay Company, Inc.

When I reached the house, my mother asked what had happened. I started pulling her toward the door, telling her what the butcher had said. I opened the meat and showed it to her. "It's fat, Mother. Let's take it back."

"Oh, Lord, I knew I shouldn't have sent her. Stop crying now, the meat isn't so bad."

"But it is. Why can't we take it back?"

"Go on out on the porch and wait for Daddy." As she turned from me, her eyes were filling with tears.

When I saw Daddy approaching, I ran to him, crying. He lifted me in his arms and smiled. "Now, what's wrong?" When I told him, his smile faded.

"And if we don't hurry, the market will be closed," I finished.

"We'll talk about it after dinner, sweetheart." I could feel his muscles tighten as he carried me into the house.

Dinner was distressingly silent. Afterwards my parents went into the bedroom and talked. My mother came out and told me my father wanted to see me. I ran into the bedroom. Daddy sat there, looking at me for a long time. Several times he tried to speak, but the words just wouldn't come. I stood there, looking at him and wondering why he was acting so strangely. Finally he stood up and the words began tumbling from him. Much of what he said I did not understand. To my seven-year-old mind he explained as best he could that a Negro had no rights that a white man respected.

He dropped to his knees in front of me, placed his hands on my shoulders, and began shaking me and shouting.

"Can't you understand what I've been saying?" he demanded. There's nothing I can do! If I went down to the market I would only cause trouble for my family."

Daisy Lee Bates grew up in Little Rock, Arkansas. She married Christopher Bates in 1941, and together they founded and edited a weekly newspaper called the Arkansas State Press. She has served as the president of the Arkansas Branch of the NAACP. Her civil rights activities during the struggle for school integration in 1957 resulted in the loss of her newspaper. In 1962 she wrote her autobiography, which is called The Long Shadow of Little Rock.

The Black of It

Phyllis Harrison-Ross, M.D.*

I was a very smart little girl. I skipped two years in primary school. At the end of junior high, I had all E's for Excellence. Despite my good academic record, when the time came to choose which high school I'd attend and which courses I'd take, the guidance counselor advised me to take a home economics course in the local general high school. She said it would teach me to become a good housekeeper and I'd always be able to hold a steady job as a domestic.

Needless to say, my mother and father scorned this guidance. I'd just as soon have followed it, because most of my friends were going to that school and I would have had a good time. Instead, my parents insisted that I take the entrance examination for the top academic high school in Detroit.

Here again I ran into a racial put-down. I scored very high, exceptionally high, on the entrance exam. When I came for my interview, the white admissions teacher was surprised that the student who had such high grades was black. He remarked that I must have been related to President Benjamin Harrison. If there was ever one single time when I wanted to deny any white family background I had, that was it. I had scored high because I had studied hard and I was intelligent.

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*From Phyllis Harrison-Ross and Barbara Wyden, "The Black of It," in The Black Child: A Parent's Guide. Copyright © 1973 by Phyllis Harrison-Ross, M.D., and Barbara Wyden. Reprinted by permission of the David McKay Company, Inc.

Somos Chicanos: Strangers in Our Own Land*

David F. Gomez

At the age of six I entered Seventy-fifth Street School...which was located down the street we lived on. The school was mostly white, at least 85% or more. The rest of us were either Mexican, black, or Oriental, but mostly Mexican.... In the classroom my most vivid memories are those of Dick, Jane, and Spot in the first- and second-grade readers. Dick and Jane, of course, were white children and even their dog Spot looked white and clean. Everything that was of value or importance in school was white and clean.... The white children called us "dirty Mexicans" (that's why our skin was brown) or cowards who ran from fights (like our ancestors at the Alamo). My predominant impression, therefore, was that Mexicans had no legitimate place in the white world. If we Mexicans wanted to survive at all, we would have to become white. And I wanted to be white.

My mother came to visit me only once in school. It was during my year in the third grade. Mamá said that after school let out she would take me shopping with her. I expected to find her waiting in the car out front as she usually did when she picked me up, but instead she parked the car and came into the building to get me.... It was 2:00 p.m. and the last bell had rung. Most of the other children were putting away their books and papers, getting their coats and sweaters from the classroom, or huddling around the teacher's desk. Everyone seemed to be talking very loud or laughing.... My mother entered the classroom through the front door, and when she saw me she called out: "David, apúrate, te 'stoy esperando!" I froze with embarrassment and shame, feeling that everyone in the room was staring at us. And I didn't want the other children to think of me as different or foreign. I ran up to my mother and pleaded, "Mother, speak English please!" She never mentioned the incident, but I know I must have disappointed her....

Gradually I became aware of feeling that what my family had to offer--language, customs, food, ways of looking at the world, vacations in Baja, California--was not very good in comparison with the other world in which I lived. This was the world of little Richard Yates, Donald Cook, Patricia Allen, and the other white kids who went to Seventy-fifth Street School with me. I went out of my way as much as possible to get into their world.

My early childhood playmates, other than my own relatives, were white children, and I preferred their companionship to that of my own people. There was one little boy...who was in the third grade with me. I wanted him to be my friend because he seemed to embody all that I admired and believed was best. He had blond hair, bright blue eyes, and rosy cheeks. In fact, he looked a lot like Dick, the little "gringo" hero in our first- and second-grade readers. And I was determined to make friends with him. On the playground during recess, I went up to him and offered him the supreme sacrifice I was capable of offering,

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my leather pouch, a valuable little pouch made of soft leather which I had saved box tops for months to finally get. You could wear the pouch on your belt and carry a lot of marbles or candy in it. "Here," I said to the little blonde boy, holding up the pouch so he could take it, "do you want it?" "Yeah...don't you need it?" He seemed more puzzled than gratified by my generosity. I told him I didn't need it anymore and he could have it. So he took my pouch--but not my friendship--and went off to play in another corner of the playground with his own friends.

What It Is Like To Be A Black Manager*

Edward W. Jones, Jr.

The Job Offer

My story begins when I happened to bump into a recruiter who was talking to a friend of mine. On gathering that I was a college senior, the recruiter asked whether I had considered his company as an employer. I responded, "Are you kidding me--you don't have any black managers, do you?" He replied, "No, but that's why I'm here."

I did well in a subsequent interview procedure and received an invitation for a company tour. Still skeptical, I accepted, feeling that I had nothing to lose. During a lunch discussion concerning the contemplated job and its requirements, I experienced my first reminder that I was black. After a strained silence, one of the executives at our table looked at me, smiled, and said, "Why is it that everyone likes Roy Campanella, but so many people dislike Jackie Robinson?"

I knew that this man was trying to be pleasant; yet I felt nothing but disgust at what seemed a ridiculous deterioration in the level of conversation. Here was the beginning of the games that I expected but dreaded playing. The question was demeaning and an insult to my intelligence. It was merely a rephrasing of the familiar patronizing comment, "One of my best friends is a Negro." Most blacks recognize this type of statement as a thinly veiled attempt to hide bias. After all, if a person is unbiased, why does he make such a point of trying to prove it?

In the fragment of time between the question and my response, the tension within me grew. Were these people serious about a job offer? If so, what did they expect from me? I had no desire to be the corporate black in a glass office, but I did not wish to be abrasive or ungracious if the company was sincere about its desire to have an integrated organization.

There was no way to resolve these kinds of questions at that moment, so I gathered up my courage and replied, "Roy Campanella is a

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*From Edward W. Jones, Jr., "What It's Like to Be a Black Manager," Harvard Business Review, July-August 1973. Copyright © 1973 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. All rights reserved.

great baseball player. But off the field he is not an overwhelming intellectual challenge to anyone. Jackie Robinson is great both on and off the baseball field. He is very intelligent and therefore more of a threat than Roy Campanella. In fact, I'm sure that if he wanted to, he could outperform you in your job."

There was a stunned silence around the table, and from that point on until I arrived back at the employment office, I was sure that I had ended any chances of receiving a job offer.

I was wrong. I subsequently received an outstanding salary offer from the recruiter. But I had no intention of being this company's showcase black and asked seriously, "Why do you want me to work for you? Because of my ability or because you need a black?" I was reassured that ability was the "only" criterion, and one month later, after much introspection, I accepted the offer.

Initial Exposure

I entered the first formal training phase, in which I was the only black trainee in a department of over 8,000 employees. During this period, my tension increased as I was repeatedly called on to be the in-house expert on anything pertaining to civil rights. I was proud to be black and had many opinions about civil rights, but I did not feel qualified to give "the" black opinion. I developed the feeling that I was considered a black first and an individual second by many of the people I came into contact with. This feeling was exacerbated by the curious executive visitors to the training class who had to be introduced to everyone except me. Everyone knew my name, and I constantly had the feeling of being on stage.

The next phase of training was intended to prepare trainees for supervisory responsibilities. The tension of the trainee group had risen somewhat because of the loss of several trainees and the increased challenges facing us. In my own case, an increasing fear of failure began to impact on the other tensions that I felt from being "a speck of pepper in a sea of salt." The result of these tensions was that I began behaving with an air of bravado. I wasn't outwardly concerned or afraid, but I was inwardly terrified. This phase of training was also completed satisfactorily, at least in an official sense.

At the conclusion of the training, I received a "yes, but" type of appraisal. For example: "Mr. Jones doesn't take notes and seems to have trouble using the reference material, but he seems to be able to recall the material." This is the type of appraisal that says you've done satisfactorily, yet leaves a negative or dubious impression. I questioned the subjective inputs but dropped the matter without any vehement objections.

Prior to embarking on my first management assignment, I resolved to learn from this appraisal and to use more tact and talk less. These resolutions were re-emphasized by my adviser, who was an executive with responsibility for giving me counsel and acting as a sounding board. He also suggested that I relax my handshake and speak more softly.

On the Job

A warm welcome awaited me in the office where I was to complete my first assignment as a supervisor. I looked forward to going to work because I felt that subjectivity in appraisals would now be replaced by objectivity. Here was a situation in which I would either meet or fail to meet clearly defined numerical objectives.

There were no serious problems for three weeks, and I started to relax and just worry about the job. But then I had a conflict in my schedule. An urgent matter had to be taken care of in the office at the same time that I had an appointment elsewhere. I wrote a note to a supervisor who worked for another manager, asking him if he would be kind enough to follow up on the matter in the office for me.

I chose that particular supervisor because he had given me an embarrassingly warm welcome to the office and insisted that I "just ask" if there was anything at all that he could do to help me. I relied on the impersonality of the note because he was out on a coffee break and I had to leave immediately. The note was short and tactfully worded, and ended by giving my advance "thanks" for the requested help. Moreover, the office norms encouraged supervisory cooperation, so the fact that we worked under different managers did not seem to be a problem.

When I returned to the office, the manager I worked for called me in. He was visibly irritated. I sat down and he said, "Ed, you're rocking the boat." He stated that the supervisor I had asked for help had complained directly to the area manager that I was ordering him around and said he wasn't about to take any nonsense from a "new kid" in the office.

In a very calm voice, I explained what I had done and why I had done it. I then asked my manager, "What did I do wrong?" He looked at me and said, "I don't know, but whatever it is, cut it out. Stop rocking the boat." When I asked why the note wasn't produced to verify my statements, he said that it "wasn't available."

I left my manager's office totally perplexed. How could I correct my behavior if I didn't know what was wrong with it? I resolved that I had no choice except to be totally self-reliant, since one thing was obvious: what I had taken at face value as friendliness was potentially a fatal trap.

The feelings aroused in this incident were indicative of those I was to maintain for some time. While I felt a need for closeness, the only option open to me was self-reliance. I felt that my manager should support and defend me, but it was obvious that he was not willing to take such a stance. Worst of all, however, was my feeling of disappointment and the ensuing confusion due to my lack of guidance. I felt that if my manager was not willing to protect and defend me, he had an increased responsibility to give me guidance on how to avoid future explosions of a similar nature.

For some months I worked in that office without any additional explosions, although I was continually admonished not to "rock the boat." During a luncheon with the area manager one day, I remember, he said, "Ed, I've never seen a guy try so hard. If we tell you to tie your tie to the right, you sure try to do it. But why can't you be like Joe (another trainee the area manager supervised)? He doesn't seem to be having any problems."

The Appraisal Incident

I directed my energies and frustrations into my work, and my supervisory section improved in every measured area of performance until it led the unit. At the end of my first six months on the job, I was slated to go on active duty to fulfill my military requirements as a lieutenant in the Army. Shortly before I left, my manager stated, "Ed, you've done a tremendous job. You write your own appraisal." I wrote the appraisal, but was told to rewrite it because "it's not good enough." I rewrote the appraisal four times before he was satisfied that I was not being too modest. As I indicated earlier, I had resolved to be as unabrasive as possible, and, even though I had met or exceeded all my objectives, I was trying not to be pompous in critiquing my own performance.

Finally, on my next to last day on the job, my manager said, "Ed, this is a fine appraisal. I don't have time to get it typed before you go, but I'll submit this appraisal just as you have written it." With that, I went into the service, feeling that finally, I had solved my problems.

Six months later, I took several days' leave from the Army to spend Christmas in the city with my family. On the afternoon of the day before Christmas, I decided to visit the personnel executive who had originally given me encouragement. So, wearing my officer's uniform, I stopped by his office.

After exchanging greetings and making small talk, I asked him if he had seen my appraisal. He answered, "yes," but when his face failed to reflect the look of satisfaction that I expected, I asked him if I could see it. The appraisal had been changed from the one that I had originally written to another "yes, but" appraisal. The numerical results said that I had met or exceeded all objectives, but under the section entitled "Development Program" the following paragraph had been inserted:

"Mr. Jones's biggest problem has been overcoming his own impulsiveness. He has on occasion, early in his tour, jumped too fast with the result that he has incurred some resentment. In these cases his objectives have been good, but his method has ruffled feathers."

I asked the personnel executive to interpret my overall rating. He answered, "Well, we can run the business with people with that rating." I then asked him to explain the various ratings possible, and it became clear that I had received the lowest acceptable rating that wouldn't

require the company to fire me. I could not see how this could be, since I had exceeded all my objectives. I explained how I had written my own appraisal and that this appraisal had been rewritten. The personnel officer could not offer an explanation; he recommended that I speak to my old area manager, who had had the responsibility to review and approve my appraisal, and ask him why I had been treated in that manner.

A Bleak Christmas

I tried to sort things out on my way to see my former area manager. My head was spinning, and I was disgusted. The appraisal was not just unfair--it was overtly dishonest. I thought of standing up in a righteous indignation and appealing to higher authority in the company, but I had always resisted calling attention to my blackness by asking for special concessions and wanted to avoid creating a conflict situation if at all possible. While the 15-minute walk in the cold air calmed my anger, I still hadn't decided what I was going to do when I arrived at the area manager's office.

I walked into a scene that is typical of Christmas Eve in an office. People were everywhere, and discarded gift wrappings filled the wastebaskets. The area manager still had on the red Santa Claus suit. I looked around at the scene of merriment and decided that this was a poor time to "rock the boat."

The area manager greeted me warmly, exclaimed how great I looked, and offered to buy me a drink on his way home. I accepted, and with a feeling of disgust and disappointment, toasted to a Merry Christmas. I knew then that this situation was hopeless and there was little to be gained by raising a stink while we were alone. I had been naive, and there was no way to prove that the appraisal had been changed.

I was a very lonely fellow that Christmas Eve. My feelings of a lack of closeness, support, and protection were renewed and amplified. It became obvious that no matter how much I achieved, how hard I worked, or how many personal adjustments I made, this system was trying to reject me.

I didn't know which way to turn, whom to trust, or who would be willing to listen. The personnel executive had told me to expect prejudice, but when he saw that I was being treated unfairly, he sent me off on my own.

"What do they expect?" I thought. "They know that I am bound to run into prejudice; yet no one lifts a finger when I am treated unfairly. Do they expect a person to be stupid enough to come right out and say, 'Get out, blackie; we don't want your type here'? This surely wouldn't happen--such overt behavior would endanger the offending person's career."

After the Christmas Eve incident, I went off to finish the remaining time in the Army. During that period, I tossed my work problems

around in my mind, trying to find the right approach. The only answer I came up with was to stand fast, do my best, ask for no special favors, and refuse to quit voluntarily.

New Challenges

When I returned to the company, I was assigned as a supervisor in another area for five or six weeks, to do the same work as I had been doing prior to my departure for the military service. At the end of this uneventful refamiliarization period, I was reassigned as a manager in an area that had poor performance and was recognized as being one of the most difficult in the company. The fact that I would be responsible for one of three "manager units" in the area was exciting, and I looked forward to this new challenge.

I walked into my new area manager's office with a smile and an extended hand, anxious to start off on the right foot and do a good job. After shaking hands, my new boss invited me to sit down while he told me about the job. He began by saying, "I hope you don't, but I am pretty sure you are going to fall flat on your face. When you do, my job is to kick you in the butt so hard that they'll have to take us both to the hospital."

I was shocked and angry. In the first place, my pride as a man said you don't have to take that kind of talk from anyone. I fought the temptation to say something like, "If you even raise your foot, you may well go to the hospital to have it put in a cast."

As I held back the anger, he continued, "I don't know anything about your previous performance, and I don't intend to try to find out. I'm going to evaluate you strictly on your performance for me."

The red lights went on in my mind. This guy was making too much of an issue about his lack of knowledge concerning my previous performance. Whom was he trying to kid? He had heard rumors and read my personnel records. I was starting off with two strikes against me. I looked at him and said, "I'll do my best."

More Appraisal Troubles

The area's results failed to improve, and John, the area manager, was replaced by a new boss, Ralph. Two weeks after Ralph arrived, he called me on the intercom and said, "Ed, John has your appraisal ready. Go down to see him in his new office. Don't worry about it; we'll talk when you get back." Ralph's words and tone of foreboding made me brace for the worst.

John ushered me into his office and began by telling me that I had been his worst problem. He then proceeded to read a list of every disagreement involving me that he was aware of. These ranged from corrective actions with clerks to resource allocation discussions with my fellow managers. It was a strange appraisal session. John wound up

crossing out half of the examples cited as I rebutted his statements. At the end of the appraisal, he turned and said, "I've tried to be fair, Ed. I've tried not to be vindictive. But if someone were to ask how you're doing, I would have to say you've got room for improvement."

Discussions with Ralph, my new boss, followed as soon as I returned to my office. He advised me not to worry, that we would work out any problems. I told him that this was fine, but I also pointed out the subjectivity and dishonesty reflected in previous and current appraisals and the circumstances surrounding them.

I was bitter that a person who had just been relieved for ineffectiveness could be allowed to have such a resounding impact on my chances in the company. My predecessor had been promoted; I had improved on his results, but here I was, back in questionable status again.

The Turning Point

About six weeks later, Ralph called me in and said, "Ed, I hope you make it on the job. But what are you going to do if you don't?"

At that moment, I felt as if the hands on the clock of life had reached 11:59. Time was running out very rapidly on me, and I saw myself against a wall, with my new boss about to deliver the coup de grace. I felt that he was an honest and very capable person, but that circumstances had combined to give him the role of executioner. It seemed from his question that he was in the process of either wrestling with his own conscience or testing me to see how much resistance, if any, I would put up when he delivered the fatal blow. After all, while I had not made an issue of my ill treatment thus far in my career, no matter how unjustly I felt I had been dealt with, he was smart enough to realize that this option was still open to me.

I looked at Ralph and any thought about trying to please him went out of my mind. Sitting up straight in my chair, I met his relaxed smile with a very stern face. "Why do you care what I do if I don't make it?" I asked coldly.

"I care about you as a person," he replied.

"It's not your job to be concerned about me as a person," I said. "Your job is to evaluate my performance results. But since you've asked, it will be rough if I am fired, because I have a family and responsibilities. However, that's not your concern. You make your decision; and when you do, I'll make my decision." With that statement I returned to my office.

Several weeks after this discussion, a vice president came around to the office to discuss objectives and job philosophy with the managers. I noted at the time that while he only spent 15 or 20 minutes with the other managers, he spent over an hour talking with me. After this visit, Ralph and I had numerous daily discussions. Then Ralph called me into

his office to tell me he had written a new appraisal with an improved rating. I was thrilled. I was going to make it. Later, he told me that he was writing another appraisal, stating I not only would make it but also had promotional potential.

After Ralph had changed the first appraisal, my tensions began to decrease and my effectiveness began to increase proportionately. The looser and more confident I became, the more rapidly the results improved. My assignment under Ralph became very fulfilling, and one of the best years I've spent in the company ensued. Other assignments followed, each more challenging than the previous, and each was handled satisfactorily.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL AND LEGAL CHANGES

The following reading is a brief outline of social and legal changes. It includes individual and group efforts to bring about legal change and some of the actual changes in legislation. You will find that the laws increasingly outlawed practices that maintained category membership of minorities. A good example is the 1954 Supreme Court decision of Brown versus the Board of Education. The court ruled against the concept of "separate but equal" education.

You can use this outline as a starting point for several activities:

1. Do research on a particular piece of legislation and present it to your class.

2. Research the contributions of a major organization that brought about changes in the law, such as the NAACP.

3. Read about the contributions of an individual leader, such as Dr. Martin Luther King.

Whatever activity you choose, be sure to keep appraisal in mind. Is it task appraisal or person appraisal? Do the changes increase the use of task appraisal?

Outline of Social and Legal Changes

In the previous chapter we covered how individual people experienced appraisal. These incidents were not unique or isolated.

Every person who belongs to a minority group faces negative person appraisal at one time or another. Over time, the effects of this appraisal are tremendous. People are made to feel less than human. They may come to accept unequal treatment and even abuse.

However, this kind of treatment has also made minority people angry. Leaders have organized their people to work for equality. The efforts of these groups have led to major legislative changes.

Black Americans have been fighting for justice since they came to the United States. In 1905, W. E. B. Dubois and other leaders met in Niagara Falls, Canada. There they began the "Niagara Movement" which demanded: "We will not be satisfied with less than our full manhood rights." In 1909, the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) was formed. The NAACP has brought many important cases to the Supreme Court. Their efforts have been crucial to legal change.

After many Blacks threatened to "March on Washington," President Roosevelt met with Black leader, A. Philip Randolph. Randolph told Roosevelt about the problems his people faced in getting good jobs. The President set up a Committee on Fair Employment Practice (FEPC). The committee worked to investigate problems and to recommend solutions.

The problems were not easily solved, however. Blacks in the 1960's faced many of the same problems that their parents and grandparents had experienced.

1963 was an important year for civil rights. During that year many Blacks demonstrated for equality in jobs, education, housing, and the use of public facilities. Martin Luther King and his group, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, boycotted buses and conducted "sit ins" for an end to segregation. During the summer of 1963 there were 841 demonstrations in 196 cities in 35 states and the District of Columbia. The Justice Department estimated that 319 communities in 11 states became more fair in their treatment of Blacks as a result of the demonstrations.

Mexican Americans began to work for their equality most actively in the beginning of the 1960's. In 1962 Cesar Chavez began to organize the United Farm Workers Union. This union works for improved wages and working conditions for farm workers. In 1962 there were less than 300 members in the United Farm Workers. During the Union's big grape strike (from 1965 to 1970) 20,000 migrant workers participated in the strike.

Reiss Dijerina is another important Mexican American leader. He has established an organization called the Alianza (meaning Alliance). The Alianza works to get back land that was taken from the Mexican Americans by the U.S. Government. Although a treaty had promised the Mexicans that they could keep their land, the promise was broken. Reiss Dijerina is fighting to make that promise good again.

Native Americans have also created several organizations to work for social and legal changes. The National Indian Education Conference works to keep the education of American Indian children in the hands of Indians. The Native Indian Youth Council works to show young Native Americans the importance of education.

The efforts of these people have resulted in many legal changes aimed at creating equality for people of all racial and ethnic groups. Throughout our history laws have been passed to increase the equality of all people. In 1865, the 13th Amendment was ratified. This amendment prohibits slavery. In 1868, the 14th Amendment was ratified. It gives everyone equal protection under the law. In 1870, the 15th Amendment was ratified. This amendment specifies that states cannot deny a man the right to vote because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. These amendments were passed at the end of the Civil War, during the beginning of a period known as the "Reconstruction."

During Reconstruction several further laws were passed to insure equality. There were laws to insure rights to property, voting, and equal access to public accommodations, facilities, and transportation.

However, in 1883, several of these Civil Rights Acts were struck down in the Supreme Court. The Court ruled that the federal government could not interfere in private concerns. Therefore, there could be no federal civil rights laws.

In 1896, the Supreme Court upheld the policy of segregating Blacks and whites as long as facilities were of "equal quality." This "separate but equal" doctrine held until 1954. In 1954, the Court ruled that the "separate but equal" doctrine was unconstitutional. It ordered an end to school desegregation "with all deliberate speed."

In 1957, Congress finally awakened from its long sleep and passed the 1957 Civil Rights Act. This Act:

a. outlawed the intimidation of voters.

b. gave the Attorney General the power to act against intimidation.

c. created the Civil Rights Commission.

d. created a position of Assistant Attorney General to head the new Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department.

Two more Civil Rights Acts (1960 and 1964) included provisions to combat discrimination in voting, public accommodations, government facilities, public education, and employment. Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in any program or activity receiving federal money (for example, public schools). Title VII of the same act prohibited discrimination in employment and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to administer the law.

The Civil Rights Act of 1968 outlawed discrimination in housing. The Equal Employment Act of 1972 further expanded the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by giving EEOC further powers.

Since 1957, then, the federal government has passed several laws to insure equality for all racial groups. However, these laws must be enforced before they can actually create changes. It is up to individual people to make sure that these laws are being upheld in their own communities.

The Civil Rights Movement: Readings

To provide a brief introduction to the civil rights movement, the following readings include a brief overview of the movement, Dr. Martin Luther King's key address of August 1963, and President John F. Kennedy's address to the nation in June 1963.

The Negro in America*

Earl Spangler

The demonstrations of the mid-20th century called attention to the need for new Federal laws to safeguard the rights of black people. In 1957, Congress set up the Commission on Civil Rights to investigate denials of civil rights. This measure was the first federal civil rights act passed since Reconstruction. A law designed to protect the voting rights of blacks was enacted in 1960. But it was not until 1963, when protest demonstrations had become nationwide, that the most comprehensive civil rights legislation was introduced. Sent to Congress by President John F. Kennedy, the bill outlawed discrimination in restaurants, hotels, and other public places. It also forbade discrimination by employers and unions, and established a commission to enforce fair employment practices. In addition, the bill authorized the withholding of federal funds from any program or activity that allowed racial discrimination.

In support of the proposed legislation, more than 200,000 people, both black and white, took part in a march on Washington in August 1963. Led by Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and other civil rights figures, the marchers came to the nation's capital to demand freedom and justice for black people. In November 1963, three months after the march, President Kennedy was assassinated. The new civil rights bill was still in Congress, and Kennedy's successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, urged that it be passed quickly. In July 1964, the bill became law. As a result of its passage, segregation in public places soon began to crumble.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had far-reaching effects, but much remained to be done if black people were to have true equality. One of the most important goals of the civil rights movement was the achievement of full voting rights for Negroes. In January 1965, Martin Luther King began a voting rights campaign centered in Selma, Alabama. During the two-month-long drive, many people who came to take part in demonstrations and aid in voter registration were threatened and arrested. Four people were killed. (Only the year before, three young civil rights workers had been murdered during a voter registration drive in Mississippi.) When the demonstrators attempted to march from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery, they were stopped by police using tear gas and whips. Hundreds of sympathizers, black and white, then rushed to Selma to join the march. Finally, President Johnson ordered federal protection for the demonstrators who made the walk from Selma to Montgomery late in March.

In August 1965, with Selma still in the news and on the mind of the nation, Congress passed a new Voting Rights Act. The act outlawed literacy tests in many Southern states and permitted Federal examiners to register voters. It was another step forward in the legal battle against discrimination. But there still existed problems of injustice and inequality so deep-rooted in American life that laws alone could

*From Earl Spangler, The Negro in America. Minneapolis, Minn.: Lerner Publications Co., 1971. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

not affect them. In the last half of the 1960's, attempts to solve these basic problems would absorb the nation's attention and arouse its deepest feelings....

The Civil Rights Act of 1968 was the last piece of civil rights legislation passed in the decade of the sixties. Most of the legal obstacles to racial equality had now been eliminated by the courts and the federal government. But as the decade ended and a new one began, black people in the United States faced an uncertain future. Laws had been changed and new laws passed, yet many American Negroes could see little improvement in their own lives. Unemployment was still almost twice as high among blacks as among whites. The gap between black and white incomes was narrowing, but the difference remained significant. (The fact that Negroes with high school educations earned less than whites who had only finished grade school suggested that racial discrimination was a real factor in income difference.) In 1970, black people were four times as likely to live in substandard housing as whites. Most urban blacks still made their homes in the decaying core of the central city. School integration was progressing--94 percent of the school districts in the South were partially desegregated--but the majority of schools throughout the nation remained predominantly black or white.

Observers who were able to see the American Negro's situation from a historical point of view were not too surprised to find that change was slow in coming. Blacks were victims of social and economic inequalities, which had existed for so many years that they had virtually become a part of the structure of American society. Change would require massive resources and determined efforts. Moreover, the problems to be solved were frighteningly complex. Yet black Americans had already waited a long time for the rights and privileges which white Americans possessed by birth. As the legal barriers crumbled and improvements began to take place, black impatience grew and black demands became more aggressive. Militancy existed throughout the Negro community, and sometimes it took extreme forms. Black speakers denounced all white authority and advocated the use of violence in achieving equal rights. Black college students demanded special black courses, separate living quarters, more black teachers. When their demands were not met, some resorted to violent demonstrations.

Black militancy in its most extreme form could be seen in the activities of the Black Panther Party. Founded in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, the organization called for a revolutionary change in American society, a change to be brought about by violence, if necessary. The Panther Party was made up primarily of blacks, although Panther leaders claimed that they were fighting for the rights of all poor people, regardless of race. Local Panther groups armed themselves, presumably in self-defense, and police raids on Panther headquarters sometimes resulted in fatal gun battles.

In 1970 the Black Panthers were very few in number, but their voices were loud and their words violent. White Americans were frightened by their threats and angered by their arrogance. Most black Americans had a different reaction. In 1970 a nationwide opinion poll taken by

Louis Harris for Time magazine revealed that a majority of the blacks surveyed felt some sense of pride in the Black Panthers. The image projected by the organization was one of defiance and strength, of racial pride and reckless courage. In some respects, Panther members served as dramatic and exaggerated symbols of the growing strength and self-respect of black Americans. Most of those surveyed in the Harris poll felt, however, that black militant groups like the Panthers did not provide very effective leadership for the black cause. (Elected officials were seen as the most effective leaders.) A strong majority also believed that black people could attain their full rights without the use of violence.

If most black Americans in 1970 did not advocate the use of violence, they did not reject the possibility that violent confrontations would occur. Despite this danger, they were determined to continue the struggle. They were well aware that white resistance to further progress was growing and that many whites deeply resented the words and actions of black militants. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the new decade some blacks expressed a cautious optimism about the future. A majority of those surveyed in the Harris poll felt that things were getting better for black people in the United States. Signs of improvement could already be seen—more Negroes were getting into college, new jobs had opened up, there were more black-owned businesses. This particular group of black people believed that one of the most promising signs for the future was the growth of racial pride and confidence among blacks. If equality and justice were finally to be achieved, it would be through the efforts of black people proud of their heritage, confident of their human worth, and unyielding in their determination.

I Have a Dream*

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon of light and of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination.

One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

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In a sense, we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be granted the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check—a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valleys of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the movement and to underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual.

There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds.

Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny, and they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. This offense we share mounted to storm the battlements of injustice must be carried forth by a biracial army. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one.

We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating "for whites only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote, and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like water and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of excessive trials and tribulation. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi; go back to Alabama; go back to South Carolina; go back to Georgia; go back to Louisiana; go back to the slums and ghettos of the northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

So I say to you, my friends, that even though we must face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed--"we hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the State of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor's lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, that one day, right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places shall be made plain, and the crooked places shall be made straight, and the glory of the Lord will be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.

With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning--"my country 'tis of thee; sweet land of liberty; of thee I sing; land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride; from every mountainside, let freedom ring"—and if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.
Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.
Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.
Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado.
Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.
But not only that.
Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.
Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.
Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi
-from every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and hamlet, from every state and city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children--black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants--will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: "Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

President Kennedy's Civil Rights Address*

Good evening my fellow citizens.

This afternoon, following a series of threats and defiant statements, the presence of Alabama National Guardsmen was required on the University of Alabama to carry out the final and unequivocal order of the United States District Court of the Northern District of Alabama.

That order called for the admission of two clearly qualified young Alabama residents who happen to have been born Negro.

That they were admitted peacefully on the campus is due in good measure to the conduct of the students of the University of Alabama who met their responsibilities in a constructive way.

I hope that every American, regardless of where he lives, will stop and examine his conscience about this and other related incidents.

This nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.

Today we are committed to a worldwide struggle to promote and protect the rights of all who wish to be free. And when Americans are sent to Vietnam or West Berlin we do not ask for whites only.

It ought to be possible, therefore, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed up by troops. It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants, and theaters and retail stores without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street.

And it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and to vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal.

It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color.

In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case.

The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section or the state in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing a high school as a white baby, born in the same place, on the same day; one-third as much chance of completing college; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man; twice as much chance of

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*Reprinted from The New York Times, June 12, 1963.

becoming unemployed; about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year; a life expectancy which is seven years shorter and the prospects of earning only half as much.

This is not a sectional issue. Difficulties over segregation and discrimination exist in every city, in every state of the Union, producing in many cities a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety.

Nor is this a partisan issue. In a time of domestic crisis, men of goodwill and generosity should be able to unite regardless of party or politics.

This is not even a legal or legislative issue alone. It is better to settle these matters in the courts than on the streets, and new laws are needed at every level. But law alone cannot make men see right.

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as clear as the American Constitution. The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities; whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated.

If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public; if he cannot send his children to the best public school available; if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him; if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place?

Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay. One hundred years of delay have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons, are not fully free. They are not yet freed from the bonds of injustice; they are not yet freed from social and economic oppression.

And this nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free.

We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it. And we cherish our freedom here at home. But are we to say to the world--and much more importantly to each other--that this is the land of the free, except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens, except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettos, no master race, except with respect to Negroes.

. . . I am, therefore, asking the Congress to enact legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public--hotels, restaurants and theaters, retail stores and similar establishments. This seems to me to be an elementary right.

Its denial is an arbitrary indignity that no American in 1963 should have to endure, but many do.

I have recently met with scores of business leaders, urging them to take voluntary action to end this discrimination. And I've been encouraged by their response. And in the last two weeks over 75 cities have seen progress made in desegregating these kinds of facilities.

But many are unwilling to act alone. And for this reason nation-wide legislation is needed, if we are to move this problem from the streets to the courts.

I'm also asking Congress to authorize the Federal Government to participate more fully in lawsuits designed to end segregation in public education. We have succeeded in persuading many districts to desegregate voluntarily. Dozens have admitted Negroes without violence.

Today a Negro is attending a state-supported institution in every one of our 50 states. But the pace is very slow.

Too many Negro children entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court's decision nine years ago will enter segregated high schools this fall, having suffered a loss which can never be restored.

The lack of an adequate education denies the Negro a chance to get a decent job. The orderly implementation of the Supreme Court decision therefore, cannot be left solely to those who may not have the economic resources to carry their legal action or who may be subject to harassment.

Other features will be also requested, including greater protection for the right to vote.

But legislation, I repeat, cannot solve this problem alone. It must be solved in the homes of every American in every community across our country.

In this respect, I want to pay tribute to those citizens, North and South, who've been working in their communities to make life better for all.

They are acting not out of a sense of legal duty but out of a sense of human decency. Like our soldiers and sailors in all parts of the world, they are meeting freedom's challenge on the firing line and I salute them for their honor--their courage . . . .

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COMPETENCE IS FOR EVERYONE

Upper Level Teacher's Edition
Unit 2: In the Minority

Martha Whalen Kent, Anne M. Woolfson,
and Dale Kent

University of Vermont

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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Preface

This curriculum is an outgrowth of approximately six years of research and several additional years of discussion and thought. Although there were a number of obstacles, as there usually are with a long-term project, the efforts of a number of people need to be especially acknowledged for having made this work possible.

Much love and appreciation go to my parents for modeling concrete acts demonstrating the inherent value of human life and the importance of learning. I would like to express equal appreciation to Dale Kent for a decade of exploring the nature of appraisal in many discussions. Gratitude and appreciation go to several teachers who have allowed the free, innocent, playful inquiry of a groping student. Among these I would like to mention especially Professors Lucy Rau Ferguson, Dozier Thornton, Jack Hunter, and Ulrich Weisstein.

Much love and appreciation also go to several colleagues. When James Baldwin was asked what it was like to be a Black writer in the early sixties, he replied that "there was not, no matter where one looked, any proof of one's existence." I would like to thank Dr. Marcia Guttentag, Associate Provost Sheila Tobias, and Dr. Zella Luria for the "proof of one's existence." To be less metaphoric, I would like to thank them for serving as professional models, for their concrete help, and for their continued encouragement of this work from its inception several years ago to the present time.

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M. W. Kent
November, 1977

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROGRAM

In his autobiography,* Malcolm X recounts an incident from his youth that shaped the course of his life substantially. Malcolm was a top student in school. One day one of his teachers asked him what career he planned to pursue. Malcoln replied that he wanted to be a lawyer. The teacher was surprised and advised Malcolm that this was not a realistic goal for a Black person. Carpentry would be much more suitable.

Consider another example. Nancy always liked to solve mathematical problems. Her parents, although poor, encouraged and supported her in her efforts to become a mathematician. After years of study and substantial financial investment, Nancy obtained a doctorate in mathematics, graduating with high distinction. When she went to her first job interview, the interviewer asked her if she were really serious about mathematics. The interviewer thought that women were not really serious about their work.

On what basis did the teacher and the interviewer make their judgments about Malcolm X and Nancy? Were they based on the quality of the performance of these individuals or were they based on non-performance criteria? Clearly the judgments were based on non-performance criteria. They were based on attributes of these individuals--on being Black or female--and on stereotypes associated with these two attributes, such as not being serious enough. Ability and performance were not taken into account.

What were the consequences for Malcolm X and Nancy? Discouraged over his job prospects, Malcolm X dropped out of school at the age of fourteen. Nancy obtained employment as a semi-skilled laboratory assistant.

The purpose of these materials is to specify and reduce limitations on the learning and use of skills that people experience because of their sex or race. The social categories into which individuals are placed are strongly associated with what they will or will not learn and what skills they use or will be allowed to use. To articulate these constraints and go beyond them, the materials focus on three areas that function to maintain inequalities. These are:

- The process of making judgments or appraisals.
- Practices of social institutions in the areas of employment, education, and the mass media.
- Legal practices and historical antecedents.

Historically, many individuals have been treated on the basis of who they are rather than on the basis of what they can do. This process of inappropriate person-based appraisal and treatment has created

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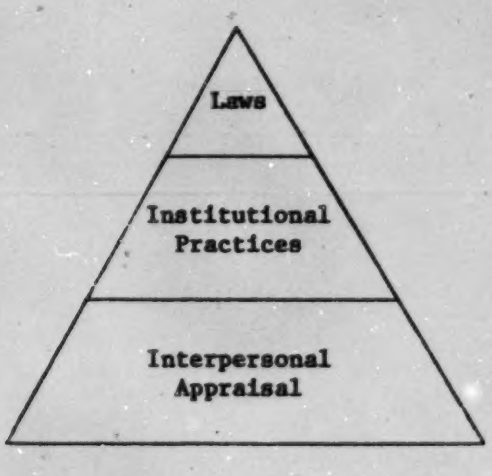
*Malcolm X with Alex Haley, The Autobiography of Malcolm X. New York: Grove Press, 1965.

inequalities which are expressed in interpersonal interactions, the practices of social institutions, and legal practices.

These kinds of inequalities can be illustrated visually in the form of a pyramid:



1. Unobtrusive interpersonal appraisals form the base or foundation of this pyramid. Like most foundations, it is the most solid and least visible layer of this structure. It is solid and entrenched because we are least aware of what is going on, what sort of appraisals we are making or receiving, and what the effects of these are on us and on others.

2. Practices of our major institutions constitute a second and more obvious layer of this structure. In the past, discriminatory employment practices and restricted admissions quotas have been clearly stated and articulated in policy statements by these institutions. Their effects are markedly visible in the absence of women and minorities from certain occupations and institutions of advanced training and in their concentration in low-level jobs.

3. The apex of this pyramid is comprised of the legal practices and principles that establish legal guidelines to which we as a society have committed ourselves. These reflect a history of restrictive legislation based not on the actions of individuals but on their group membership. They also reflect a recent history of legislative changes that have increasingly prohibited discriminatory practices. At each level of the pyramid individuals are judged and treated on the basis of who they are rather than on their actions.

Let us take a closer look at the basic layer of interpersonal appraisal and the cases of Malcolm X and Nancy. The advice Malcolm receives contains no information about his actual performance--his excellent scholastic achievements. The interviewer does tell him who he is--namely that he is Black--and that only certain things are suitable for him to do.

This information places Malcolm into the category "Black" and helps to keep him there. It also informs him that, because he is in this category, he is somewhat inadequate. In the case of Nancy, the employer does not assess her training and ability as a mathematician. He does assess her as "not serious" and as "female." This appraisal also tells Nancy who she is, that she is "not serious," and that she is a "woman." It also places her into a category and informs her that she, as a person, is inadequate. Hence, Malcolm and Nancy are given no information about their learning or their skills--information which could help them in their performance. Instead, they are defined as inadequate people.

What appraisals did other individuals receive? Let us consider Nancy's case. She found that all the other applicants for her position were males. The employer was not concerned about how "serious" the applicants were or about the fact that they were males. Instead, he carefully scrutinized their applications and examined the training and experience they had obtained in mathematics. In these cases, the employer was directly concerned with the performance of applicants. His appraisal was appropriate. It was task-based rather than person-based.

How can the situation be corrected for Malcolm X or Nancy? In Malcolm's case it would have been appropriate for the teacher to give advice that was based on Malcolm's actual performance in school; that is, it would have been appropriate for the teacher to make task-based appraisals. In the case of Nancy, it would have been appropriate to examine her application for the training, experience, and ability she had in mathematics, and to reject or accept her application on this basis.

In the two examples we have discussed, the personalized appraisals are directly associated with two major social categories--Black and female. Several points need to be clarified. First, there are many groups in our society, such as the aged, the handicapped, young people, those over thirty, dumb kids, smart kids, etc. The process of appraisal is not limited to one type of group; it is applicable to any group. Through appraisal, the group is established and maintained. Although the type of groups into which we categorize people may change, the process of appraisal remains essentially the same.

Second, personalized appraisals need not be associated in an obvious way with a category, such as Black or female. In fact, the current climate of opinion suggests that it is less socially acceptable to be obviously prejudiced than it was two decades ago. Malcolm's teacher today might say, "You have a good personality, Malcolm, and you will find more employment in carpentry." He would refrain from pointing out that Malcolm was Black. The employer in Nancy's case might say to Nancy, "Are you really serious about your work?" He, too, would not comment on the fact that Nancy was a female.

Third, it should be pointed out that sometimes personalized appraisals are appropriate. When we are attracted to someone, we may like that individual's appearance or qualities of character, such as gentleness,

sense of humor, etc. In a beauty contest, it is appropriate to judge the appearance of contestants. Whether appraisal is appropriate will depend on the situation. In a situation in which the purpose is learning or using a skill, personalized appraisal is inappropriate and uninformative with regard to the tasks in which individuals are engaged. It tells them what sort of people they are and thereby detracts from performance. These definitions can be negative, as in the cases of Malcolm and Nancy, or positive. Let us consider a positive example. As a student, some of Nancy's friends would remark, "With your looks, I wouldn't worry about that math problem." It is nice for Nancy to be complimented on her appearance, but this does not solve her math problem.

The critical concern is not whether appraisals are positive or negative but whether they are appropriate. For nearly two decades educators and psychologists have debated the effectiveness of praise over criticism, of positive over negative reinforcement in learning. A wealth of experimentation has yielded results that have remained quite contradictory. Recently investigators are beginning to acknowledge that the positive or negative qualities are probably not the critically important feature that accounts for the effectiveness of feedback or reinforcement. They are suggesting that effectiveness probably depends on how feedback and reinforcement are used. These materials explore one important manner in which feedback occurs and how it is or is not conducive to learning by:

1. Distinguishing between task-based and person-based appraisal.

2. Examining whether the appraisal is appropriate; that is, does task-based appraisal occur in performance situations or are the appraisals personalized and inappropriate?

3. Realizing that positive and negative appraisals are not the critical distinctions. If performance is inadequate, negative task appraisals are as appropriate as are positive task appraisals with a job that is exceptionally well done.

4. Realizing the consequences of appropriate and inappropriate appraisal. Appropriate task appraisal (both positive and negative) provides needed information about the quality of performance and allows learning to take place. Inappropriate personalized appraisal is uninformative of the individual's state of learning and performance. It detracts from performance and defines the individual as a person. The major impact of personalized appraisal is on the internal emotional state of individuals and on their conceptions of themselves. It can result in negative affect and self-image, if the definition is negative. Or it can result in positive affect and self-image if the definition is positive. It is our position that task appropriate appraisal enhances learning and performance and that this, in turn, will lead to feelings of adequacy and effectiveness and thus to satisfying emotional states and self-conceptions.

Now that we have discussed appraisal at some length, it should be evident that the analysis of appraisal is not the same as a consideration of the more popularly known concepts of "stereotyping," "prejudice," and "discrimination." These are handy labels for a variety of behaviors, but they do not illuminate the process underlying stereotyping or prejudice. The analysis of appraisal does articulate what this process is. At the same time, it is broader than steroeotyping and discrimination. Any judgment can be analyzed as to whether it is task- or person-based, and the appraisal need not use sterotypic traits or refer to the target person's category or group membership. Take the child who is learning to ride a bicycle and is told, "You're not like your brother." This appraisal relies neither on a cultural stereotype (such as women not being serious about their work) nor on a social category. Yet it is personalized, inappropriate, and uninformative about how one learns to ride a bicycle.

The analysis of appraisal is foremost a cognitive tool. It is the primary goal of this course to transmit this critical tool of thought to students. The concept of inappropriate personalized appraisal has long been recognized in philosophy as the logical fallacy embodied in ad hominem arguments and in the genetic fallacy. An example would be the claim that President Carter's energy plan is unsound because he is a southerner. Philosophers are mainly interested in the logic of arguments. The ad hominem quality is treated more broadly in this curriculum. We see it as reflected in appraisals in interpersonal interaction as well as in institutional and legal practices. It is hoped that students will:

- Learn to analyze appraisals.
- Recognize social consequences of appraisal to themselves and others.
- Learn to make appropriate appraisals.
- Become less confined by the social categories to which they themselves belong.
- Learn to treat others as individuals and on the basis of their actions rather than as members of a category.

The material treats appraisal as it occurs with respect to group membership. Two types of groupings prominent in our culture were selected. These are male/female gender and minority status based on racial or ethnic belonging. To underscore the similarity of the appraisal process across social categories, and to help students think objectively, the curriculum starts with a simulated society of flat-headed and round-headed people. Unit 1 explores the appraisal process in this society. Appraisal and category membership are treated on a more general level. These concepts are progressively tied to practices in our society.

Unit 2 covers appraisal as it is expressed in minority status. Historical background, economic conditions, personal experiences, and social

change are covered in a variety of exercises and readings. The purpose of this unit is not to give an exhaustive historical account of the minority experience, of economic conditions, or of legal changes. It is left to the individual teacher's discretion to expand and supplement the materials as needed or desired. Our goal is to cover the appraisal process, and the included materials are used to illustrate particular points.

Unit 3 covers appraisal with respect to female and male gender. It proceeds from personal experiences of appraisal to institutional practices and recent social and legal changes. Again, our aim was not to provide exhaustive treatments of any of these topics but to illustrate appraisal.

Unit 4 is a summary of concepts covered and a consideration of individual action that can be taken.

In general, each unit is designed to incorporate the different levels of appraisal discussed earlier. The first three units begin with appraisal as it occurs at the interpersonal level. This is demonstrated in dramatized form in two of the units by the two videotapes. The content of each of the three units proceeds to institutional practices and ends with societal changes. At each level students are asked to analyze the appraisal, to formulate appropriate appraisal, and to recognize the consequences of appraisal. A variety of in-class and out-of-class activities and reading selections are provided. The course ends with a review and application of the concepts to students' own lives. It is hoped that students' knowledge and personal lives will be enriched through the recognition and growth beyond category boundaries within their own lives and through a fuller understanding and realization of their own capabilities

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Note: For a more comprehensive review and discussion of the inconclusive results of reinforcement, see Harold W. Stevenson, Children's Learning. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1972.

Discussions of the effectiveness of the use of reinforcement in learning, rather than the value, can be found in the following publications:

- *Paul S. Spear and Sara Allen Spear, "Social Reinforcement, Discrimination Learning, and Retention in Children." Developmental Psychology 7, 1972, p. 220.*
- *Paul S. Spear, "Motivational Effects of Praise and Criticism on Children's Learning." Developmental Psychology 3, 1970, pp. 124-132.*
- *Martin E. P. Seligman, Helplessness. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1975.*

Materials

The complete set of materials for Competence Is for Everyone, upper level, includes:

- Student texts, Units 1-4.
- Four teacher's guides, one for each unit.
- Two videotapes with discussion guides: "The Rise of Rolag" and "Judge Me, Not My Shell."
- Gender and the Conditions of Learning, a collection of background readings.

Materials are designed so that components can be used independently of each other:

- The videotapes can be used independently of the text. The accompanying discussion guides contain discussion questions for each tape.
- Gender and the Conditions of Learning can also be used independently. It treats several broader questions bearing on competence including: the socialization of females and males by parents and schools; the presentation of males and females in the media and in textbooks; and the nature of sex differences and underlying processes.

UNIT 2:

IN THE MINORITY

INTRODUCTION

The process of appraisal is illustrated in the treatment of prominent minority groups in our society. The concepts covered in the preceding unit are applied to existing social categories. In doing so, appraisal is expanded to include societal practices reflected in education and employment and in recent social and legal changes. Two new concepts are introduced. First, even though we may be different, we all share basic human needs. These needs have to be met in order for us to survive and live reasonably well. Appraisal can seriously limit the satisfaction of these needs for people in the minority. Second, we are all at some time in the minority. Although we may believe that we are protected from such a fate, we most assuredly are not. Just think of the aged as a minority group and of the fact that we all do age. The consequences of minority status are just as serious for majority persons who find themselves "in the minority." The commonality of our human experience is underscored in the basic needs we all share and in the effects of appraisals to which we all are exposed.

Chapter One starts with a discussion of basic human needs. These include life support needs, such as the need for food, clothing, shelter, and happiness or the need for self-esteem and esteem from others. Skills are essential in satisfying both sets of needs. The videotape "Judge Me, Not My Shell" presents two narratives of individuals in minority situations. Students are asked to discuss the appraisal and treatment of these individuals and the extent to which these limit the satisfaction of human needs. Students also are asked to generate stereotypes of people in the minority and to discuss how these are helpful or limiting.

Chapter Two gives a brief historical account of how several racial and ethnic groups became minorities. An exercise is provided that demonstrates how little we know about the contributions of minority individuals.

Chapter Three surveys the status of minority groups in education and employment. Exercises in the form of a game or true-false questions treat factual materials. Supplementary readings treat the importance of education and goals that need to be met in order to improve the status of minority groups.

Chapter Four consists of a series of biographical readings. The personal impact of appraisal on the lives of actual individuals is portrayed. Discussion questions provide a review of types of appraisals and consequences of these for the learning and use of skills, for feelings of self-esteem, and for satisfying human needs.

The unit ends with a treatment of social and legal changes. It includes a brief treatment of the civil rights movement and the key addresses of Dr. Martin Luther King and President John F. Kennedy that were instrumental in bringing about change.

CHAPTER 1

APPRAISALS LIMIT HUMAN NEEDS

In order to stay alive and to be happy, we all have needs that have to be satisfied. What do we need to live? What do we need to be happy? How do we satisfy these needs?

Think about the examples of Malcolm X and Nancy in Unit 1. How were their survival needs satisfied? Did they find it easy? The answer is no. Malcolm dropped out of school and Nancy had to take a low-level job.

Did they feel happy about their situations? How did they feel about themselves as people? Both would have been more content if the appraisals had reflected their actual performance. Both would have felt better about themselves as human beings if being Black and female received respect and acceptance.

The case of Malcolm X illustrates that our appraisals limit how minority persons satisfy their needs. We will look at several minority groups in our society, think about how we can improve our judgments and treatment of others, and think about how this will help them in satisfying their needs.

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*Throughout this guide, pages that duplicate student material are marked "student text" and give the student page number.

Teacher's Worksheet for Our Basic Human Needs

In the first unit we distinguished between task-based and person-based appraisal. We looked at the effects of appraisal on performance of tasks and on feelings and self-concept. The seriousness of the effects of appraisal on people's lives becomes especially clear in the context of human survival. It becomes especially clear when we raise the question of what things we need to live reasonably in this world.

This exercise asks students to identify basic human needs and to discuss how these needs are met. Subsequent activities will deal with how appraisal interferes with satisfying basic human needs of people who are "in the minority."

Procedure

Ask students to identify needs which have to be met in order to sustain a healthy and happy life. What do we need to stay alive? What do we need to be happy? The volunteered answers can be classified into life support needs and happiness needs. Students should recognize the major needs within each category.

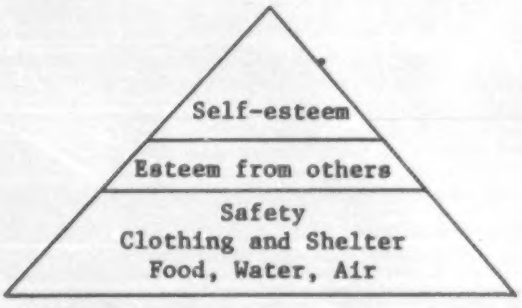
Life Support Needs

1. Food, water, air
2. Clothing and shelter
3. Physical safety

Happiness Needs

1. The need for esteem from others. This includes the need to feel accepted and loved, to feel secure, to be recognized for achievements and abilities.

2. The need for self-esteem. This includes the need to feel worthwhile, to feel adequate, to acquire skills and master challenges. These needs can be summarized in a diagram. Those at the base of the triangle must be satisfied before any of the higher levels of needs can be fulfilled. This may be familiar to you as Maslow's hierarchy of needs.



Next, discuss how we go about satisfying each set of needs.

1. How do we obtain food, clothing, shelter, and safety? Answers will probably include things like growing a garden, hunting animals, building a house. But we no longer hunt for food or build our own dwellings. We earn money to purchase these through our skills and jobs. In this discussion it is important that the students recognize the mediating effect of money in the satisfaction of many basic needs. For certain groups money is limited, because these groups have had less training for good paying positions or have had fewer job opportunities. People in these groups have fewer abilities to meet even the most basic human needs.

2. How do we go about satisfying our happiness needs? The need for self-esteem and esteem from others is satisfied in two ways:

   a. Through our beliefs. We hold the general belief that people are inherently valuable. They are precious simply because they are human beings.

   b. Through obtaining skills and competency. Through obtaining skills, using one's abilities, and managing challenges, people feel competent and adequate. In addition, others regard them as valuable contributing members of society. Obtaining and expressing our competence is necessary for satisfying happiness needs.

In summary, skills play an important role in satisfying almost all levels of human needs. Skills are necessary to satisfy life support needs and they are also necessary to satisfy happiness needs.

Note: Viewing and discussion of "Judge Me, Not My Shell" follow. Discussion guide can be found with videotape.

Teacher's Worksheet for Make a Stereotype

The following exercise provides practice with the concept of "stereotypes." It should help students to recognize that a stereotype is a cluster of person appraisals that are consistently used to describe a group of people.

Procedure

1. Have students fill out the "Make a Stereotype" worksheet.
2. Instruct students to make two separate lists of words (or make two lists on the board):
   a. Words that are checked off for minority groups.
   b. Words that are left over.
3. Discuss the following questions.
   a. How is the list of words for minority groups different from the other list of words?

      (It contains more negative, insulting words.)

   b. To whom does the "left over" list of words apply?

      (To anyone who is <u>not</u> a member of a minority group.)

   c. Which list of words is most like the list of words that describe Rolag in the last unit? Which is more like Galor?

      (Minority list = Rolag; Non-minority list = Galor)

   d. If you described a person with the adjectives from the minority group list <u>just because</u> you know that person belongs to a minority group, would you be making a task appraisal or a person appraisal?

      (Person appraisal.)

   e. Any list of person appraisals which is used over and over again to describe a particular group of people is called a "stereotype." What are some of the examples of stereotypes we have already encountered in this course? What are some others you can think of?

   f. Do stereotypes have the same effects as person appraisals?

      (Yes, only worse, because stereotypes are used by many people.)

g. How can we repair the harmful appraisals made by people who use stereotypes?

(By treating people as individuals. We must look at what each person <u>does</u>, not at what that person <u>looks like</u>.)

Make a Stereotype

1. Below is a list of adjectives which we often use to describe others. Some people, like Archie Bunker, use some of these words to describe people in minority groups. Check off those words which people like Archie Bunker would use to describe minority people.

friendly	neat
stupid	smart
leader	courageous
sneaky	helpful
musical	adventurous
follower	strong
energetic	easily influenced
lazy	kind
superstitious	cowardly
law breaker	dominant
dependent	dirty
skilled	happy-go-lucky
aggressive	emotional
ambitious	makes decisions easily

2. Look over your answer and make two separate lists of words:

   a. Words which are checked off for minority groups.

   b. Words which are left over.

3. Do the words checked off for minority groups help people in the minority?

Speaking Out for Pride

Many people have eloquently described the diminishing effects of prejudiced beliefs and actions on the individual person. They have just as forcefully protested such treatment and asserted their right to pride and human dignity. The following are exemplary statements made by several Black leaders.

W. E. B. DuBois, 1903*

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world--a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife --this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.

This, then, is the end of his striving; to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius. These powers of body and mind have in the past been strangely wasted, dispersed, or forgotten. The shadow of a mighty Negro past flits through the tale of Ethiopia the Shadowy and of Egypt the Sphinx. Throughout history, the powers of single black men flash here and there like falling stars, and die sometimes before the world has rightly gauged their brightness.

Howard Thurman, 1961**

It is a strange freedom to be adrift in the world of men without a sense of anchor anywhere. Always there is the need of mooring, the need for the firm grip on something that is rooted and will not give. The urge to be accountable to someone, to know that beyond the individual himself there is an answer that must be given--this cannot be denied.

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*From W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1969.

**From Howard Thurman, The Inward Journey. Copyright © 1961 by Howard Thurman. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

The deed a man performs must be weighed in a balance held by another's hand. The very spirit of a man tends to panic from the desolation of going nameless up and down the streets of other minds where no salutation greets and no friendly recognition makes secure. It is a strange freedom to be adrift in the world of men.

Always a way must be found for bringing into one's solitary place the settled look from another's face, for getting the quiet sanction of another's grace, to undergird the meaning of the self. To be ignored, to be passed over as of no account and as of no meaning, is to be made into a faceless thing, not a man. It is better to be the complete victim of an anger unrestrained and a wrath which knows no bounds, to be torn asunder without mercy or battered to a pulp by angry violence, than to be passed over as if one were not. Here at least one is dealt with, encountered, vanquished, or overwhelmed—but not ignored. It is a strange freedom to go nameless up and down the streets of other minds where no salutation greets and no sign is given to mark the place one calls one's own.

Martin Luther King, 1963*

When you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky, and see her beginning to distort her personality by developing an unconscious bitterness toward white people; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored people so mean?"; when you take a cross-country drive and find it necessary to sleep night after night in the uncomfortable corners of your automobile because no motel will accept you; when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored"; when your first name becomes "nigger," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs."; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness"—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. I hope, sirs, you can understand our legitimate and unavoidable impatience.

Shirley Chisholm, 1970**

On a speaking date in 1969 in St. Louis, a white member of the audience asked me a question that I have heard repeatedly. It makes

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*From "Letter from Birmingham Jail--April 16, 1963," in Why We Can't Wait by Martin Luther King, Jr. Copyright © 1963 by Martin Luther King, Jr. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

**From Unbought and Unbossed by Shirley Chisholm. Copyright © 1970 by Shirley Chisholm. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

me more furious each time I hear it..."What do you Negroes want now?" he asked me. "You all aren't doing too bad. As a matter of fact, you're doing a lot better than some of the white people."

My God, what do we want? What does any human being want? Take away an accident of pigmentation of a thin layer of our outer skin and there is no difference between me and anyone else. All we want is for that trivial difference to make no difference. What can I say to a man who asks that? All I can do is try to explain to him why he asks the question.

"You have looked at us for years as different from you that you may never see us really. You don't understand because you think of us as second-class humans. We have been passive and accommodating through so many years of your insults and delays that you think the way things used to be is normal. When the good-natured, spiritual-singing boys and girls rise up against the white man and demand to be treated like he is, you are bewildered. All we want is what you want, no less and no more."

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF MINORITY GROUPS

How do people become minority groups? The following readings are a brief outline of the history of several American minority groups. We have included Afro-Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Mexican Americans. As you read the outline, look for the similarities in their history. In each case you will find:

1. The loss of an advanced way of life through violence.

2. Further harsh treatment through economic and legal means.

3. The development of a system of beliefs which asserts the inferiority of the minority group.

After you have finished the reading, you might wish to gather information. Some possible activities are:

1. Do further research on one or more of these groups and report your findings to your class.

2. Your class can divide into small groups. Each group can research the history of one minority group and prepare a report of its findings for the rest of the class.

3. Choose a particular time period. Find out what life was like for a particular group during this time. For example, what was life like for Japanese-Americans during World War II?

4. Do a survey of standard American history textbooks to see how much of this information on the history of minority groups is usually included.

Afro-Americans

The earliest involvement of Africans with America was as explorers. Thirty Blacks were members of Nunez de Balboa's expedition in 1501 when it first sighted the Pacific Ocean. Blacks explored the Southwest in the expeditions of Vasquez de Coronado and de Vaca. Estevanico, a Black man, led the expedition from Mexico into Arizona and New Mexico in 1538.

Blacks were also among the first settlers of the United States. In 1619 twenty Blacks were among the colonists who landed in Jamestown, Virginia. At first Blacks were treated like indentured servants. They could obtain their freedom after a period of labor. However, by the middle of the seventeenth century, many states had passed laws recognizing the institution of slavery (Virginia in 1661, Massachusetts in 1641, Connecticut in 1650, etc.). By 1750 this institution was legally established throughout all the British colonies.

The African slave trade had its beginning around 1500 A.D. Its purpose was to provide cheap labor for the production of goods and products

in colonies controlled by European countries. From 1500 to 1800 slavery became a worldwide business. It involved every major European country, Africa, and North and South America. During this period forty-five million Black Africans were affected by slavery, although only 15 million made it to the New World. Many died resisting enslavement or perished during the voyage across the Atlantic.

African tribal groups performed the actual capture of slaves. They were armed with weapons provided to them by Europeans. This had the effect of dividing African tribes and setting them against each other. It also resulted in the loss of Africa's greatest resource, its strong young people. These were most valuable for sale in the New World. Although Africans who assisted in the capture of slaves were rewarded, the loss of so many people resulted in the destruction of the social and economic structure of African civilization.

In North America, the institution of slavery was based on the premise that Blacks were not people but property. They had no legal rights, could not engage in business and could not socialize with whites. They could not assemble without white supervision and they could not defend themselves against whites. They had no rights except the right to work for no rewards. They were born to be slaves and slavery was a natural and permanent condition of their lives. They were not thought of as "human" or equal to whites in any way.

In South America the condition of slavery was viewed quite differently. Long before they settled in South America, the Spanish and Portuguese had dealt with Africans as equals in business and trade. The Spanish and Portuguese continued to think of Blacks as equals even after they came to South America. To be a slave was an accident, not a permanent and unchangeable condition. There were also strong religious beliefs in South America. The Spanish and Portuguese were Catholics who believed that both slave and master were equal in the eyes of God.

Because slaves in South America were thought of as equals, they were trained in useful skills. Therefore, when slavery ended in South America, Blacks had two advantages: (1) they had skills and (2) they were thought of as equals. These two factors made the acceptance of free Black slaves into South American society much easier.

In contrast, if we look at the situation in North America, the first contact our colonial ancestors had with Blacks was as non-free people and as slaves. There were no religious beliefs which taught that Blacks were equal. The North Americans saw them as "something less than really human." Black slaves were not given the opportunity to acquire skills. Education was strictly forbidden. When slavery ended here, there were more than one million unskilled, uneducated Blacks who were viewed as "inferior" beings. Even after the end of slavery, the schools provided for Blacks were separate from those for whites and were poorly equipped and staffed. Naturally, this made it more difficult for Blacks in North America to be accepted into society.

Slavery became most institutionalized in Southern states. The Middle Atlantic area of New England held more humanitarian attitudes.

This and the lack of economic need for slaves led to the decline of slavery here. The South became transformed from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy based on one crop, cotton. It became an industrial economy with the invention of the cotton gin. Slaves were needed to grow and process cotton and Europe bought as much as it could. The South thus had a great need for cheap labor and Black slaves provided this labor.

Blacks resisted slavery from the beginning. As early as 1658 a group of Blacks and Indians rebelled in Connecticut. Rebellions flared up in 1712 in New York, in 1739 in South Carolina. In 1800 one thousand slaves marched on Richmond. In 1811 a group of Louisiana slaves rebelled in New Orleans. In 1822 a revolt was organized in South Carolina. The most famous resistance movement was led by Nat Turner in 1831 in South Carolina. But Black Americans stood little chance in these rebellions. They were simply outnumbered by whites.

Blacks also developed other measures to gain freedom. The most famous was the underground railroad which helped Black slaves escape to the North and to freedom. Among this group of sympathetic operators who helped Blacks escape was Harriet Tubman. It is estimated that Mrs. Tubman helped about three hundred people escape. In total about 100,000 slaves migrated to the North via this route. The quest for freedom and equality has changed over time and taken different forms. The most unstable of these is the civil rights movement of the 1960's. The techniques of non-violent demonstrations, boycotts and sit-ins resulted in the most comprehensive civil rights legislation that legally at least, assured the equality of Black Americans.

Native Americans

It is ironic to have to include Native Americans among the minority groups of this country. They are the original inhabitants of this country. Their history does not follow the familiar pattern of most minority cultures in America: arrival of a group, domination by those who preceded them, struggle with prejudice and economic exploitation, the achievement of some degree of assimilation.

Long before Columbus arrived in the New World, North and South America were inhabited by many nations, tribes and communities of people whom we have collectively called Indians.

Advanced civilizations existed in Central and South America. The Mayans inhabited the Yucatan Peninsula. During the period from 1000 B.C. to 1517 A.D. they built approximately twenty elaborate ceremonial centers, developed a written language, a sophisticated calendar and an agricultural system. Worship took the form of a complicated religious system which included the production of remarkable works of art and the construction of stonefaced pyramids over two hundred feet in height. In the Valley of Mexico the Aztecs developed a civilization and empire which extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Aztecs also developed an advanced calendar, a viable political system and a complicated religion.

In North America people had learned to hunt and plant crops in organized groups and communities. Archaeological evidence confirms that corn was cultivated in North America as early as four to five thousand years ago. The cultures of each society included laws, religion, poetry and history. Although there were no written languages, the spoken language played an important role in transmitting the history and religion of these people. Poetry and law were also passed on to each new generation through the spoken word. At one time there were about two hundred different languages spoken in what is now the United States. Only fifty of these languages are still spoken by people today.

Each of these cultures was unique in the customs it developed and the communities it built. For example, Native Americans of the Northwest coastal region lived in houses made of giant cedar trees in which six to ten related families lived. American Indians in the Southeast farmed in community fields and kept their crops in community storehouses. In the Southwest Native Americans lived in pueblos or walled towns and villages. They were sedentary farmers who lived on corn and squash and lead an orderly political life. They valued highly living harmoniously with each other and with nature. Advanced communities and inventions could also be found in other areas. American Indians of the Northeast developed snowshoes and canoes for travel in winter and summer.

The quest for gold and riches led to the destruction and plunder of the Aztec and Mayan civilizations. Many heroic accounts of Spanish conquistadores such as Hernando Cortes, Nunez de Balboa, Vasquez de Coronado, and Francisco Pizarro can be found. However, the Indians who lived in the area of our present day United States were most threatened by European settlers. The first white settlers on the east coast originally cultivated the friendship of the Indians. They relied on them for sheer survival and in the process learned new agricultural methods and the cultivation of new crops such as corn, beans, tobacco. The settlers, in turn, brought with them a system of property ownership completely alien to the Indians. Through it, they increasingly began to push the Indians from their homelands. The Europeans brought with them diseases to which the Indians were not immune. They also brought with them a weapons system, based on firearms, for which the Indian bow and arrow were simply no match.

From 1637 on a series of wars, broken treaties, and forced relocations reduced the Indian populations and confined them to "reservations," which included some of the most inhospitable areas that could support only sparse vegetation and wildlife.

A good example is the displacement of the Indian tribes that inhabited Florida. Among these were the Tuscarora, Cherokee, Catawba, Natchez, Apache, Seminole, Cree. Spain ceded Florida to the United States in 1817 after a military victory. When Andrew Jackson was elected President in 1828, he wanted to ensure white domination of that area. In 1830 the Indian Removal Act was passed into law. The Cherokee Nation brought legal suit and won its case in the Supreme Court. However, the decision of the court was ignored and in 1838 and 1839 the federal government began the mass movement of the tribes from Florida to Oklahoma. The tribes were forced to leave their homelands and make the long trek

under extremely harrowing conditions of starvation, disease and abuse. They resettled in the barren lands of Oklahoma. In the process, many people perished. For example, one quarter of the Cherokee Nation died.

The Indians have not fared well under white domination. It is estimated that approximately two-and-one-half million people inhabited the U.S. during prehistoric times. By 1890 the Indian population had fallen to 250,000. Their numbers have gradually increased. The current Indian population is nearly 800,000. Approximately half of them are still living on reservations.

This loss of life was also accompanied by the disintegration and loss of many Indian cultures. One major force in this disintegration was the education of Indian children. Native American children were required to attend "boarding" schools which attempted to transmit the language and values of the dominant white culture. The children lived at these schools which often were far from their homes. Life at these schools was quite different from life in their Indian communities. The schools would not allow the children to speak their native language. They would not allow Indian food, dress, or celebrations. Often, Indian children were treated as "inferior." In these schools, they learned little about their own history or culture. They learned only the history of white America. It always showed the white people as "winners" and the Indians as "losers." When these children returned home, they did not fit into the Indian community. They no longer knew their own language or culture. Yet they did not fit into white society either. Schools took away the Native American culture without replacing it with anything else.

Mexican Americans

The history of Mexican Americans extends to the time of the Mayan and Aztec civilizations and the fusion of the Indian, Spanish, and Black people that has characterized the cultural development of Mexico. Contemporary Mexican-American writers take pride in their historical roots. Their writings emphasize the concept of Aztlan, the spiritual home of the Aztecs, and la Raza, the race which emerged from Aztlan.

In the United States, the history of Mexican Americans technically started in 1848. The area north of the Rio Grande River was conquered by the United States in the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848. When the U.S. gained these territories, it also acquired the Mexican people living in these areas. The area included the contemporary states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and Colorado. Thus, the history of Mexican-Americans is in part the story of a people who were conquered and found themselves in a large alien culture. In this respect it resembles the history of Native Americans. Their subsequent loss of rights and lands is yet another parallel to the the Indian experience.

The peace treaty between the U.S. and Mexico (the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo) guaranteed the personal and property rights of Mexican citizens in the conquered areas. Mexicans were given one year to decide whether they wanted to stay and become American citizens or leave and

keep their Mexican citizenship. Most people decided to stay. Many of the rights guaranteed by the treaty were lost as large waves of Americans from the East eager for land entered these areas. Land reform laws were passed which required landowners to validate their titles to the land and show proof of the exact boundaries of their land. The law put the burden of proof on the Mexican Americans. Many could not show proof of exact boundaries since this was not necessary under Mexican law. Many could not show proof of ownership. Eventually 75% of the land ownership was validated, but it took an average of 17 years to do so. During the process, many landowners became bankrupt and lost their lands anyhow. Under the U.S. the Mexican Americans of the 19th century lost their land, economic independence, and their status. By the end of the 19th century, they found themselves at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder throughout the Southwest.

The second aspect of the history of Mexican Americans resembles that of other immigrant groups. These groups immigrated to escape wars and political persecution, and to improve their living conditions. They faced economic exploitation in the low wages paid to them and various forms of prejudice and harassment. The first large wave of Mexican immigrants arrived in 1910. They fled from the internal revolution, disruption and poverty in Mexico.

Most immigrants came from poor agrarian backgrounds. They provided cheap labor for the growing Southwest, especially in three industries—railroads, agriculture, and mining. They were paid less than Anglo workers and were isolated physically, socially, and politically by being housed in labor camps and cheap housing near their work.

During the 1920's there was a great demand for farm workers in Southwest agriculture. Large numbers of Mexicans immigrated and filled these jobs in the hope of a better life. U.S. businesses also actively recruited Mexican workers, especially after 1924 when the U.S. severely limited immigration from Europe. This migration came to a halt during the depression of the 1930's. Local governments did not want to pay welfare support to unemployed Mexicans. They found it cheaper to load them onto trains and pay for their passage back to Mexico. Large numbers of Mexicans, many of whom were born in the U.S. and were citizens of the U.S., were arbitrarily deported to Mexico.

The Mexican immigrants who came to the U.S. during the 1950's and 1960's came mainly out of economic necessity. During this time over half a million entered the U.S. legally and two to four million crossed the border illegally as wetbacks; others were recruited as braceros or temporary workers.

Usually immigrants have entered the labor force at the lowest level and gradually raised their standard of living and income. The Mexicans also entered the labor force at the lowest level but improvement of their economic condition has remained exceptionally difficult. Large illegal immigration, programs of braceros, blue carders, green carders and other temporary employment programs have served to keep wages exceptionally low. The government again tried to intervene through "Operation Wetback" of 1954 in which more than one million illegal aliens were

deported. Although it was economically successful, it served further to alienate the Mexican American community.

Unlike most immigrant groups, Mexican Americans have not assimilated easily into American life. One reason for this is the continued contact with their mother culture. Another one is their continued low economic position. In recent years Mexican Americans have not accepted passively their condition of poverty and prejudice. Movements like La Causa have demanded changes in unequal income, inferior education, housing and prejudice. Cesar Chavez in his strike against the California grape growers exemplifies the insistence on equality of living conditions and pride among Mexican Americans.

Asian Americans

Chinese Americans have their roots in one of the world's oldest civilizations, the Chinese Empire. It flourished long before the development of European civilizations. In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, living conditions in China were difficult. Farming was hard and local military chiefs kept the farmers poor through high taxes.

The immigration of Chinese to the U.S. started in the middle of the 19th century, the first immigrants arriving in 1848. California at this time was a pioneer frontier. Because of the shortage of women, many Chinese took jobs usually reserved for women--laundry, domestic service, cooking. When construction of the Central Pacific railroad started, Chinese were sought as railroad workers. During the 1870's ten to twenty thousand Chinese were employed on the railroad. Thousands more were imported from China. Chinese workers laid more miles of track than any other group. However, railroad work was difficult and dangerous. Over two thousand Chinese died in accidents.

When the need for cheap labor ended, trouble came to the Chinese. Prejudice against them began in the mining camps. White speculators wanted to reduce competition and managed to exclude the Chinese from prospecting because they were foreigners. On the railroad gangs they became objects of ridicule because they would work for lower wages than whites. Within a short time a wave of resentment against the Chinese developed. An embittered Irishman, Dennis Kearney, started a campaign against the Chinese. His slogan "the Chinese must go" was soon repeated and fostered by San Francisco newspapers. The newspapers pictured Kearney as the champion of the downtrodden white working man. Other institutions joined in and endorsed these prejudices. The "Coolies" became the object of mob law, suffering extreme cruelties and indignities. The anti-Chinese campaign in the newspapers and popular literature fostered the idea of a "Yellow Peril" which was about to challenge the supremacy of the superior white race. It was feared that hordes of Chinese would overrun and dominate this country.

By the 1880's, federal legislation was passed which legalized many prejudices. The Exclusion Act of 1882 stopped all immigration of Chinese laborers to this country. Within the next ten years Congress

passed thirteen more discriminatory laws against the Chinese. The Chinese Exclusion Act was not changed until 1943, when China became an ally to the U.S. during World War II.

While job discrimination against the Chinese still exists, the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's has reduced some of the prejudice.

Another group of Asian Americans who came to the U.S. during the middle of the 19th century are the Japanese Americans. They, too, came mainly for economic reasons. For many farmers the land had become depleted and was too poor to yield any crops. Industrialization caused many others to live in extreme poverty. Thus, most of the early Japanese came from agricultural backgrounds while others were common laborers.

Many Japanese immigrants worked as agricultural laborers for white farmers for very low wages. Gradually they acquired their own small farms and applied their technical skills and knowledge to the cultivation of much raw land.

Unlike the Chinese immigrants, the Japanese did not live in urban ghettos. They also settled over a larger geographic area and thus avoided ghetto life and the domination of others.

In spite of their advancement in American culture, they were not spared the prejudice and abuse that grew out of the anti-Oriental movement and the fears of the "Yellow Peril." The charges against the Japanese were based on several factors. The most important one was economic. Like the Chinese they underbid and outworked the white laborer. They took little part in political life and were accused of being exclusive. They were also accused of being too proud, because they did not accept the position as inferiors.

The campaign against the Japanese began in 1906 when the San Francisco school board ordered all Japanese students (93 in all) to attend a segregated Oriental school. Japan had early started a tradition which did not approve the mistreatment of its people in any part of the world. Japan in the early part of the century was an emerging world power. It protested the treatment of Japanese in the United States. Japan and the U.S. Government intervened in this situation. The result was the "Gentlemen's Agreement" in 1907 which limited the number of Japanese immigrants to the U.S. Californians, however, were not satisfied with this agreement and in 1930 passed the alien land legislation. It prohibited aliens who were not eligible for U.S. citizenship from owning land. This applied only to Asians who for a long period were not allowed to become citizens of the U.S.

The most severe discrimination suffered by Japanese occurred during World War II. On February 12, 1942, President Franklin Roosevelt issued an executive order authorizing the incarceration of Japanese on the West coast in detention camps. This order grew out of the fear of increasing public hysteria that the Japanese were all potential spies and would support Japan rather than the U.S. 110,000 Japanese were incarcerated in these camps. 70,000 of them were born in the United States. The Japanese were forced to get rid of their possessions. It is estimated

that they lost over fifty million dollars. They were held in the detention camps until 1945. It is interesting to point out that the U.S. was also at war with Germany and Italy. But it did not place German Americans or Italian Americans into detention camps. Many writers see this act as an expression of racism.

Japanese Americans who wanted to fight for America during World War II were allowed to do so. They were placed in two segregated Army groups. One of these, the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, became the best fighting force in the United States Army and the most decorated unit in United States history. Sixty percent of the soldiers of this combat team were killed or wounded while fighting in Europe. This was the greatest loss suffered by any unit in the Army.

After World War II ended, it was proven that not one Japanese American served as a spy for Japan. The harsh treatment of the Japanese Americans was completely unjustified. However, the vast majority of Japanese Americans stayed in the United States, even after being treated so harshly, and made significant contributions to American society.

Teacher's Worksheet

Questions (No Student Text)

1. Each of the groups covered in the readings came from advanced cultures. How were these cultures lost?

   (Through the use of force: slavery for Blacks, warfare for Indians and Mexicans.)

2. Each group received harsh treatment and negative judgments. What judgments did the white majority culture make of people in each group? Review these judgments for each group.

3. How did these judgments keep people from earning a living and from obtaining an education? Review this for each minority group.

4. Do you think people today still have stereotyped opinions about these groups? Did these history readings change your mind about any of these groups of people?

Teacher's Worksheet for Do You Know These People?

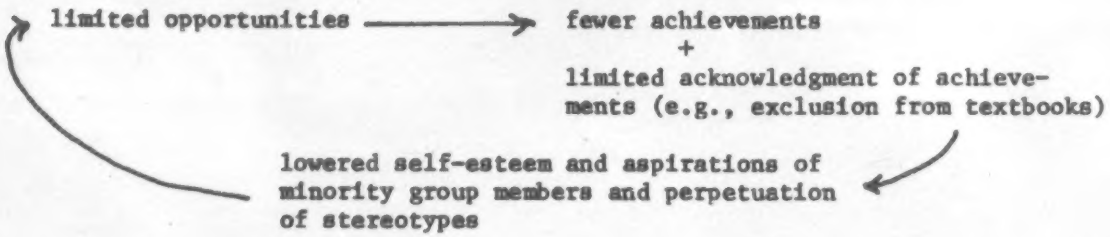
The purpose of this exercise is to make students aware of some of the contributions to our history by members of various minority groups. It should also help students to realize that the contributions of minority group members are not always fairly represented in the history books.

Procedure:

1. Have students fill out the "Who Are These People: Black Americans" exercise, leaving blank those answers they do not know.

2. When everyone is finished, go over the correct answers, noticing how many names the students were not able to recognize.

3. Discuss both the causes and the effects of this state of affairs:


limited opportunities
fewer achievements
+
limited acknowledgment of achievements (e.g., exclusion from textbooks)
lowered self-esteem and aspirations of minority group members and perpetuation of stereotypes

4. Divide the class into small groups. Assign each group to a particular minority group. Have students go to their own history books and to the library to find the pertinent facts about prominent people listed. Encourage them to bring in the names and contributions of other minority group members not listed.

5. If desired, have students choose one famous minority group member to investigate further. Written or oral biographical sketches can be prepared and presented to the class.

Who Are These People? Black Americans
(Answers appear in guide only)

How much do you know about the contributions of minority individuals? How much do you know about the contributions of black Americans? You can test your knowledge in this exercise. Match the person with the contribution that person made to our society. Leave blank those answers which you do not know. How many blank answers are there?

NAME		CONTRIBUTION
1. Fannie Lou Hamer	13	Born in 1917, a primitive painter who painted mostly scenes from Afro-American history.
2. Charles Drew	5	He began the National Negro Business League in 1900. It became an important American political force. His advice was sought by presidents and other important leaders.
3. George Washington Carver	23	Mayor of Los Angeles
4. Mary McLeod Bethune	18	Worked with Thomas Edison and invented the incandescent light bulb.
5. Booker T. Washington	7	An abolitionist and fighter for human rights and world peace; helped Abraham Lincoln to form the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Black Regiments.
6. Ralph Bunche	19	Born in 1872, was a great poet and writer; first book of poetry was published in 1895, called Oak and Ivy.
7. Frederick Douglass	1	Freedom fighter who formed the new Mississippi Democratic Party.
8. Martin Luther King, Jr.	15	Escaped from slavery in 1820; during the Civil War she was a spy for the North, a nurse, and an abolitionist. She made 19 journeys on the "Underground Railroad," helping other Afro-Americans to escape.
9. Marian Anderson	20	A track star who won three gold medals at the Rome Olympics in 1960.
10. Leontyne Price	12	Founded Chicago. His contribution was officially recognized in 1968.
11. Phyllis Wheatley	10	This opera singer made her debut in 1961 and is considered one of the greatest operatic singers in the world.

12. Jean Baptiste DeSable	21	Former chairperson of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. Militant in his efforts to gain complete liberation and equality for Black people. He was the first to use the phrase "Black Power" widely.
13. Jacob Lawrence	2	Pioneer in the use of blood plasma. He was in charge of the first Red Cross blood bank begun in 1941.
14. Langston Hughes	6	United Nations Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs, recipient of Nobel Peace Prize in 1950.
15. Harriet Tubman	11	Born in Africa and brought here as a slave, her first poem was published when she was 14. She wrote poetry for George Washington.
16. Rosa Parks	4	Founder of a Florida college for Black women. Became a leading member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Black Cabinet."
17. Matthew Hensen	3	Attended and taught at Tuskegee Institute. He made dozens of products from sweet potatoes and peanuts.
18. Lewis H. Latimer	9	One of the greatest women of opera in this country. When she first sought vocal training, she was told: "We don't take colored."
19. Paul Dunbar	14	A star on the track team and always on the honor roll; became a famous poet and author.
20. Wilma Rudolph	16	In 1955 she refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white man in Montgomery, Ala. Her actions resulted in a one year boycott of the buses and eventual court action requiring the bus companies to change their rules.
21. Stokeley Carmichael	8	He was a minister who worked to get civil rights for Afro-Americans. He won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964 and was assassinated in 1968.
22. Shirley Chisholm	22	She ran for the office of President of the United States. She is presently a Congresswoman.
23. Thomas Bradley	17	He was the first man ever to stand on the North Pole on April 6, 1909. He spoke eight languages and traveled widely. He won the Congressional Medal of Honor.
24. Edward Brooke	24	Former U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, the first Black U.S. Senator since reconstruction times.

Who Are These People?

Hispanic Americans	Polish Americans
Carlos Finlay	Casimir Pulaski
Julian Nava	Helena Modjeska
Joseph Montoya	Casimir Funk
Rafael Hernandez	Emil Konopinski
J. M. de les Reyes	Leopold Stokowski
Romana Acosta Banvelos	Ralph Modjeski

Italian Americans	Czech Americans
Colonel Francis Vigo	Frederick Novy
Mother Francis Cabrini	Alois Kovarik
Constantino Brunidi	Zdenek Kopal
Arturo Toscanini	George Placzek
Fiorello LaGuardia	Rudolf Friml
Edward Corsi	Anton Cermak

Chinese Americans	Japanese Americans
Ah Louis	Minour Yamasaki
Lyman Jee	Isamy Noguchi
Thomas Hum	S. I. Hayakawa
T. D. Lee	Daniel K. Inouye
C. N. Yang	Masayuki Matsunaga
C. S. Wu	Hideyo Noguchi

CHAPTER 3

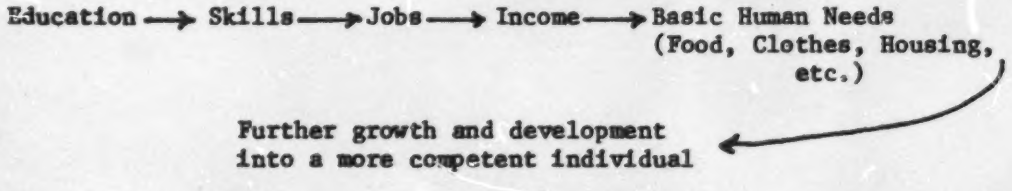
MINORITY GROUPS IN EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Education, Employment, and Satisfying Basic Human Needs

There is no other institution in which we have invested more of our hopes, aspirations, and ambitions than the school. Education for many Americans is seen as the vehicle through which low social status and poverty are overcome. It is seen as the promise of self-fulfillment, the development and enjoyment of talents, and a fuller productive life in society. Education has traditionally served as a vehicle through which immigrant groups could enter middle class life and escape city ghettos and positions of menial labor.

For some minority groups this route to an improved way of life has been remarkably difficult. Many obstacles prevented them from obtaining a good education. Think about the implications of this. School is a place where we develop our skills, become more competent, and prepare ourselves for a variety of jobs. Without good schools it would be far more difficult to develop certain skills and competencies. These are skills which are necessary for many responsible jobs. When people have received an unequal education, they have unequal opportunities for good jobs. Their ability to meet basic human needs for food and housing are limited. Their income is limited and they will not be able to afford to get training for a better job, nor to live in areas with better schools. This means that their children will also get a poor education.

As you can see, the quality of our education has a very important impact on our future. It determines the skills and training we receive. These affect the kind of job we can hold successfully. Our jobs determine our income, which affects the housing, food, clothing, and activities we can afford. The degree to which we can take care of basic human needs affects the satisfaction we feel with life and the time and energy we have for becoming more competent individuals.


Education → Skills → Jobs → Income → Basic Human Needs (Food, Clothes, Housing, etc.)
Further growth and development into a more competent individual

For a long time Black Americans, Mexican Americans, and other minority groups were not given adequate opportunities for a good education. Schools were segregated so that members of racial minorities were not allowed to go to the same schools that white children attended. People claimed that there was nothing wrong with Blacks being forced to have "separate" education as long as it was "equal" to the education of whites. However, these schools were not equal. They had less money. They were more crowded and had fewer teachers, buildings, books, and less equipment for their students.

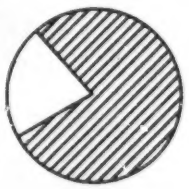
In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that "separate but equal" schools were illegal. The Court ordered schools to desegregate so that Black and white children would attend classes together and share the same opportunities. In the words of the Supreme Court: "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.... Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors be equal, deprives the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities.... In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.... To separate [Negro children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone."

Even though this became the law, there are still many cities today where racial minorities are not given as good an education as white children are. Conditions are improving but equality remains a goal to be worked for.

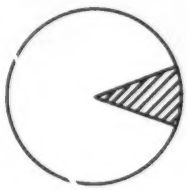
Education for non-white Americans has improved

a. The diagrams below represent all the white Americans and non-white Americans in the United States about one hundred years ago. Twelve percent of white Americans could not read or write. Contrast this with the 80% of non-whites who could not read or write.

1870



80%



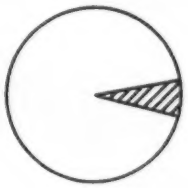
12%

Non-whites who could not read or write

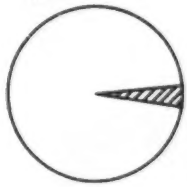
Whites who could not read or write

However, one hundred years later (1969) the number of non-white Americans who could not read or write had grown much smaller.

1969



7%



0.7%

Non-whites who could not read or write

Whites who could not read or write

b. More and more Black students are completing high school instead of dropping out of school early. This means that they will be better trained for jobs and have higher incomes. The diagrams below represent all of the Black American adults (25–34 years old) alive in the United States during a certain year. The shaded part of the circles shows how many Black adults had completed high school at that time. Notice the proportion becoming larger as we go from the past to the present. Today a much larger proportion of Blacks are completing high school and are better trained with skills for jobs.

1940	1950	1960	1970	1974
11%	20%	33%	56%	67%

(U.S. Department of Commerce, 1974)

Teacher's Worksheet for Facts About People

This exercise provides practice with a set of facts relevant to the basic human needs of various minority groups within our society. The purpose of this exercise is not to teach students a set of facts, but to familiarize them with some of the gaps that exist between various racial groups in our society. The facts presented should also serve as a springboard for discussion of how inappropriate appraisal perpetuates minority group conditions.

It may be profitable to allow time for discussion of some of the more surprising facts. Teachers should feel free to use only those facts which they think will be useful and interesting to their students. The facts are presented in several optional formats. Choose the format that will be most appropriate for your class.

Procedure One: "Predict the Fact" Format

1. Divide the class into two groups or "teams."
2. Present each fact in the left-hand column to the class and ask them the corresponding question in the right-hand column.
3. Each group must form a "huddle" and come up with an answer.
4. The group that comes closest to the correct answer gets a point. In cases where there is more than one part to the question, award one point for each part. If two teams are equally close to the correct answer, award them both a point.

Procedure Two: "True/False" Format

1. Follow Procedure One, but use the True/False presentation of facts (p. 42 of guide). In this case, each group getting the correct answer should be awarded a point.
2. Members of the small groups could take turns answering the questions. Points would still be awarded to the team, but coming up with the answers would be an individual effort rather than a team effort.
3. Students could fill out the True/False questionnaire on their own. This could be followed by a class discussion of the correct answer.

Questions

1. What can we say in general about the education, employment, and living conditions of minority group members compared with white Americans?

   (They are much lower.)

2. Do you think these conditions are the result of person appraisal or task appraisal?

   (Person appraisal.)

3. How do you think these conditions affect the way minority group members <u>live</u>?

   (They can't always meet their basic human needs, like getting enough food or having a warm house.)

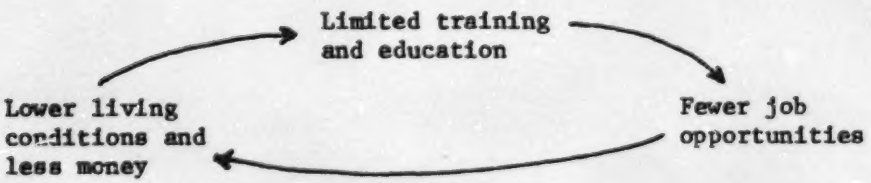
4. How do you think these conditions affect the way minority group members <u>feel</u>?

   (It must make them feel like they're not as good as other people, since they can't get good jobs or education or housing.)

5. One way to get a better job and make more money is to get a better education. Why do you think more minority group members do not go to college?

   (It is harder for them to get accepted at a college. It is harder for them to get a good job even with a college degree. Their families often do not have enough money to send them to college.)

6. It seems like minority group members are caught in a "Circle of Poverty."



   What are some of the ways you can think of to break up this circle?

Teacher's Worksheet for Facts About People:

Predict the Fact Format

Education

1. Approximately the same percentage of young white adults (age 20-24) who are male or female complete four years of high school. (86%, 85%)	What percentage of young Black adults (age 20-24) complete four years of high school who are male or female? (74%, 68%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970)
2. 25% of all college aged whites (age 18-24) are enrolled in college.	What percentage of college aged Blacks are enrolled in college? (18%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974)
3. Approximately 11% of white students (age 14-24) drop out of high school. 11% of men and 11% of women drop out.	What percentage of Black students drop out of high school? (17%) What percentage of males and what percentage of females drop out? (16% of men, 18% of women) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974)
4. The percentage of the entire American adult population (age 25 and over) that has completed some college is 21%; that has completed four or more years of college is 11%.	What proportion of adult Mexican Americans has completed some college? (14%) Has completed four or more years of college? (6%) What proportion of adult Indians has completed some college? (7%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970)
5. The percentage of the entire American adult population (age 25 and over) that has graduated from high school is 62.5%. For whites this percentage is 64.6%	What percentage of adult Native Americans has completed high school? (33%) What percentage of adult Mexican Americans has completed high school? (31%) Of Spanish? (38%) Of Puerto Ricans? (29%) Of Blacks (43%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975)
6. The median years of schooling completed by all Americans is 12.1 years.	What is the median years of schooling completed by Native Americans? (9.8 years) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970)
7. The percentage of the entire adult American population (age 25 and over) that has completed less than five years of schooling for all races is 4.2%. For whites it is 3.3%.	What percentage of adult minority people have less than five years of schooling? (Spanish, 18.5%), (Mexicans, 24.6%), (Puerto Ricans, 17.4%), (Blacks, 12.3%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975)

Employment

1.	For every dollar that a white man earns, how much does a Black man earn? (68¢) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975)
2. The median family income for a white family is $12,541.	What is the median family income for a Black family? ($8,500) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975)
3. 47% of white males earn over $10,000. 10.4% of white females earn over $10,000.	How many Black males earn over $10,000? (25%) How many Black females earn over $10,000? (7.8%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975)
4. 11% of all American families have an income below poverty level. 8.3% of white families have an income below poverty level.	What percentage of minority families have an income below poverty level? (All minorities, 28%), (Blacks, 30%), (Spanish and Mexican Americans, 25%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975)
5. 8.5% of the entire American work force was unemployed in 1975. 8% of white males and 9.3% of white females were unemployed.	What percentage of Black males are unemployed? (13.7%) What percentage of Black females are unemployed? (14%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975)
6. The unemployment rate of white youths (age 16-19) is 18%.	What is the unemployment rate of minority youths (age 16-19)? (37%) (U.S. Department of Labor)
7. The proportion of whites who hold white collar jobs is 51.7%; who hold managerial and administrative jobs is 11.2%.	Jobs are broadly classified into white collar and blue collar jobs. What proportion of white collar jobs do Blacks hold? (34.2%) What proportion of Blacks hold managerial and administrative positions? (4.4%) (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975)
8. The proportion of whites who hold blue collar jobs is 32.4%; who do service work (housework) is 12.3%.	What proportion of Blacks hold blue collar jobs? (37.4%) Do service or household work? (26%) (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975)

Living Conditions

1. 67% of all white Americans own their own homes.	What percentage of minority people owned their own homes? (44%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974)

2. 32.6% of white families live in rented dwellings.	What percentage of minority groups live in rented dwellings? (56%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974)
3. 50% of all white households own their own cars.	What percentage of Black households own their own cars? (39%) What percentage of Spanish American households own their own cars? (44%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974)
4. 64% of all white households own a color TV.	What percent of Black households own a color TV? (38%) What percent of Spanish American households own a color TV? (48%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974)
5. 20% of white families have central air conditioning in their homes.	What percentage of Black families have central air conditioning in their homes? (8.5%) What percentage of Spanish American families have central air conditioning? (11.8%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974)
6. 75% of all white families own their own washing machines.	What proportion of Black families own their own washing machines? (51%) What proportion of Spanish American families own their own washing machines? (58%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974)
7. Less than 1% of the dwellings of white families lack some or all plumbing.	What percentage of dwellings of Black families lack some or all plumbing? (Approximately 10%) (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974)

Teacher's Worksheet for Facts About People: True/False Format

(Answers appear in guide only)

How much do you know about the income and education of minority people? You can test your knowledge in this exercise. The statements below describe facts about the income and education of minority groups. Read each statement carefully. If you think a statement is true, write a "T" next to it. If it is false, write an "F" next to it.

T 1. More Black students drop out of high schools than do do white students. (17%, 11%, ages 19-24)

T 2. About half as many Black adults (age 25 and over) have completed four or more years of college in comparison to white adults. (6%, 11%)

F 3. About half as many Black adults (age 25 and over) have graduated from high school in comparison to white adults. (43%, 64.6%)

F 4. One-third of Black adults and one-third of Mexican American adults have completed less than five years of schooling. (12.3%, 24.6%)

F 5. For every dollar that a white person earns, a Black person earns fifty cents. (68¢)

F 6. Five percent of Black males and three percent of Black females earn $10,000 or more. (25%, 7.8%)

T 7. Little over one-quarter of minority families have incomes that are below poverty level. (28% for all minorities, 30% for Blacks, 25% for Spanish and Mexican Americans)

T 8. The unemployment of Black youths (ages 16-19) is over twice as much as it is for white youths. (37%, 18%)

T 9. About one-third of Black Americans hold white collar jobs. (34.2%)

T 10. About twice as many Blacks hold service jobs (do household work) as do whites. (26%, 12.3%)

T 11. Sixty-seven percent of all white families own their own homes.

T 12. Forty-four percent of all minorities own their own homes.

T 13. Over half of all minority groups live in rented dwellings. (56%)

T 14. About twice as many white households own a color TV as do Black households. (64%, 38%)

T 15. About ten times as many Black families as white families live in dwellings that lack some or all plumbing. (About 10%, less than 1%)

F 16. The income of Black families is one-half as much as that of white families. (It is about two-thirds as much: $8,500, $12,541)

T 17. Sixty-five percent of adult whites (age 25 and over) have graduated from high school.

F 18. Fifty percent of minority adults (age 25 and over) have graduated from high school. (33% for Native Americans, 31% for Mexican Americans, 38% for Spanish Americans, 29% for Puerto Ricans, 43% for Blacks)

F 19. The median years of schooling completed by all Americans is fourteen years. (12.1)

F 20. The median years of schooling completed by Native Americans is twelve years. (9.8)

T 21. Eleven percent of whites hold managerial and administrative jobs.

F 22. Ten percent of Blacks hold managerial and administrative jobs. (4.4%)

Minority Groups in Education and Employment: Readings

Barriers to the education of minority groups have always existed. These barriers have taken different forms over the centuries. They have ranged from laws that prohibited the education of Black slaves to practices of segregated Black and white schools, to the lack of good schools, facilities, and economic support for schools attended by minority students. Minority individuals who acquired a good education did so through exceptional effort, dedication, and love of learning. Their environments usually provided few opportunities for their minds and talents to flourish.

One such example was Booker T. Washington. He was born the son of a slave. The circumstances of his life one century ago differed from those faced by contemporary minority individuals. However, Booker T. Washington and many of his counterparts today continue to share the obstacles presented by poverty, lack of opportunity, and the "presumption" that they will not succeed.

Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm gives an assessment of the education Blacks have received. On the whole, education has served to keep Blacks in a subservient position. To change this situation, she calls for Blacks to take control of their own educational institutions in order to end the practice of "half-training" individuals.

In the last reading Whitney Young outlines the changes needed for an equitable life for Blacks in his address, "Agenda for the Future." This agenda includes economic improvement and employment, better health care, improved education, and better housing.

Up from Slavery*

Booker T. Washington

The first thing I ever learned in the way of book knowledge was while working in this salt-furnace. Each saltpacker had his barrels marked with a certain number. The number allotted to my stepfather was "18." At the close of the day's work the boss of the packers would come around and put "18" on each of our barrels, and I soon learned to recognize that figure wherever I saw it, and after a while got to the point where I could make that figure, though I knew nothing about any other figures or letters.

From the time that I can remember having any thoughts about anything, I recall that I had an intense longing to learn to read. I determined, when quite a small child, that, if I accomplished nothing else in life, I would in some way get enough education to enable me to read common books and newspapers. Soon after we got settled in some manner in our new cabin in West Virginia, I induced my mother to get hold of a book for me. How or where she got it I do not know, but in some way she procured an old copy of Webster's "blue-back" spelling-book, which contained the alphabet, followed by such meaningless words as "ab," "ba," "ca," "da." I began at once to devour this book, and I think that it

*From Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc.

was the first one I ever had in my hands. I had learned from somebody that the way to begin to read was to learn the alphabet, so I tried in all the ways I could think of to learn it--all of course without a teacher, for I could find no one to teach me. At that time there was not a single member of my race anywhere near us who could read, and I was too timid to approach any of the white people. In some way, within a few weeks, I mastered the greater portion of the alphabet. In all my efforts to learn to read my mother shared fully my ambition, and sympathized with me and aided me in every way she could. Though she was totally ignorant, so far as mere book knowledge was concerned, she had high ambitions for her children, and a large fund of good, hard, common sense which seemed to enable her to meet and master every situation. If I have done anything in life worth attention, I feel sure that I inherited the disposition from my mother.

In the midst of my struggles and longing for an education, a young coloured boy who had learned to read in the state of Ohio came to Malden. As soon as the coloured people found out that he could read, a newspaper was secured, and at the close of nearly every day's work this young man would be surrounded by a group of men and women who were anxious to hear him read the news contained in the papers. How I used to envy this man! He seemed to me to be the one young man in all the world who ought to be satisfied with his attainments.

About this time the question of having some kind of a school opened for the coloured children in the village began to be discussed by members of the race. As it would be the first school for Negro children that had ever been opened in that part of Virginia, it was, of course, to be a great event, and the discussion excited the widest interest. The most perplexing question was where to find a teacher. The young man from Ohio who had learned to read the papers was considered, but his age was against him. In the midst of the discussion about a teacher, another young coloured man from Ohio who had been a soldier, in some way found his way into town. It was soon learned that he possessed considerable education, and he was engaged by the coloured people to teach their first school. As yet no free schools had been started for coloured people in that section, hence each family agreed to pay a certain amount per month, with the understanding that the teacher was to "board 'round"--that is, spend a day with each family. This was not bad for the teacher, for each family tried to provide the very best on the day the teacher was to be its guest. I recall that I looked forward with an anxious appetite to the "teacher's day" at our little cabin.

This experience of a whole race beginning to go to school for the first time, presents one of the most interesting studies that has ever occurred in connection with the development of any race. Few people who were not right in the midst of the scenes can form any exact idea of the intense desire which the people of my race showed for an education. As I have stated, it was a whole race trying to go to school. Few were too young, and none too old, to make the attempt to learn. As fast as any kind of teachers could be secured, not only were day-schools filled, but night-schools as well. The great ambition of the older people was to try to learn to read the Bible before they died. With this end in view, men and women who were fifty or seventy-five years old would often

be found in the night-school. Sunday-schools were formed soon after freedom, but the principal book studied in the Sunday-school was the spelling-book. Day-school, night-school, Sunday-school, were always crowded, and often many had to be turned away for want of room.

The opening of the school in the Kanawha Valley, however, brought to me one of the keenest disappointments that I ever experienced. I had been working in a salt-furnace for several months, and my stepfather had discovered that I had a financial value, and so, when the school opened, he decided that he could not spare me from my work. This decision seemed to cloud my every ambition. The disappointment was made all the more severe by reason of the fact that my place of work was where I could see the happy children passing to and from school, mornings and afternoons. Despite this disappointment, however, I determined that I would learn something, anyway. I applied myself with greater earnestness than ever to the mastering of what was in the "blue-back" speller.

My mother sympathized with me in my disappointment, and sought to comfort me in all the ways she could, and to help me find a way to learn. After a while I succeeded in making arrangements with the teacher to give me some lessons at night, after the day's work was done. These night lessons were so welcome that I think I learned more at night than the other children did during the day. My own experiences in the night-school gave me faith in the night-school idea, with which, in after years, I had to do both at Hampton and Tuskegee. But my boyish heart was still set upon going to the day-school, and I let no opportunity slip to push my case. Finally I won, and was permitted to go to the school in the day for a few months, with the understanding that I was to rise early in the morning and work in the furnace till nine o'clock, and return immediately after school closed in the afternoon for at least two more hours of work.

The schoolhouse was some distance from the furnace, and as I had to work till nine o'clock, and the school opened at nine, I found myself in a difficulty. School would always be begun before I reached it, and sometimes my class had recited. To get around this difficulty I yielded to a temptation for which most people, I suppose, will condemn me; but since it is a fact, I might as well state it. I have great faith in the power and influence of facts. It is seldom that anything is permanently gained by holding back a fact. There was a large clock in a little office in the furnace. This clock, of course, all the hundred or more workmen depended upon to regulate their hours of beginning and ending the day's work. I got the idea that the way for me to reach school on time was to move the clock hands from half-past eight up to the nine o'clock mark. This I found myself doing morning after morning, till the furnace "boss" discovered that something was wrong, and locked the clock in a case. I did not mean to inconvenience anybody. I simply meant to reach that schoolhouse in time.

When, however, I found myself at the school for the first time, I also found myself confronted with two other difficulties. In the first place, I found that all of the other children wore hats or caps on their heads, and I had neither hat nor cap. In fact, I do not remember that up to the time of going to school I had ever worn any kind of covering

upon my head, nor do I recall that either I or anybody else had even thought anything about the need of covering for my head. But, of course, when I saw how all the other boys were dressed, I began to feel quite uncomfortable. As usual, I put the case before my mother, and she explained to me that she had no money with which to buy a "store hat," which was a rather new institution at that time among the members of my race and was considered quite the thing for young and old to own, but that she would find a way to help me out of the difficulty. She accordingly got two pieces of "homespun" (jeans) and sewed them together, and I was soon the proud possessor of my first cap.

The lesson that my mother taught me in this has always remained with me, and I have tried as best I could to teach it to others. I have always felt proud, whenever I think of the incident, that my mother had strength of character enough not to be led into the temptation of seeming to be that which she was not--of trying to impress my schoolmates and others with the fact that she was able to buy me a "store hat" when she was not. I have always felt proud that she refused to go into debt for that which she did not have the money to pay for. Since that time I have owned many kinds of caps and hats, but never one of which I have felt so proud as of the cap made of the two pieces of cloth sewed together by my mother. I have noted the fact, but without satisfaction, I need not add, that several of the boys who began their careers with "store hats" and who were my schoolmates and used to join in the sport that was made of me because I had only a "homespun" cap, have ended their careers in the penitentiary, while others are not able now to buy any kind of hat.

My second difficulty was with regard to my name, or rather a name. From the time when I could remember anything, I had been called simply "Booker." Before going to school it had never occurred to me that it was needful or appropriate to have an additional name. When I heard the school-roll called, I noticed that all of the children had at least two names, and some of them indulged in what seemed to me the extravagance of having three. I was in deep perplexity, because I knew that the teacher would demand of me at least two names, and I had only one. By the time the occasion came for the enrolling of my name, an idea occurred to me which I thought would make me equal to the situation; and so, when the teacher asked me what my full name was, I calmly told him "Booker Washington," as if I had been called by that name all my life; and by that name I have since been known. Later in life I found that my mother had given me the name of "Booker Taliaferro" soon after I was born, but in some way that part of my name seemed to disappear, and for a long while was forgotten, but as soon as I found out about it I revived it, and made my full name "Booker Taliaferro Washington." I think there are not many men in our country who have had the privilege of naming themselves in the way I have.

More than once I have tried to picture myself in the position of a boy or man with an honoured and distinguished ancestry which I could trace back through a period of hundreds of years, and who had not only inherited a name, but fortune and a proud family homestead; and yet I have sometimes had the feeling that if I had inherited these, and had been a member of a more popular race, I should have been inclined to

yield to the temptation of depending upon my ancestry and my colour to do that for me which I should do for myself. Years ago I resolved that because I had no ancestry myself I would leave a record of which my children would be proud, and which might encourage them to still higher effort.

The world should not pass judgment upon the Negro. and especially the Negro youth, too quickly or too harshly. The Negro boy has obstacles, discouragement, and temptations to battle with that are little know to those not situated as he is. When a white boy undertakes a task, it is taken for granted that he will succeed. On the other hand, people are usually surprised if the Negro boy does not fail. In a word, the Negro youth starts out with the presumption against him.

The influence of ancestry, however, is important in helping forward any individual or race, if too much reliance is not placed upon it. Those who constantly direct attention to the Negro youth's moral weaknesses, and compare his advancement with that of white youths, do not consider the influence of the memories which cling about the old family homesteads. I have no idea, as I have stated elsewhere, who my grandmother was. I have, or have had, uncles and aunts and cousins, but I have no knowledge as to what most of them are. My case will illustrate that of hundreds of thousands of black people in every part of our country. The very fact that the white boy is conscious that, if he fails in life, he will disgrace the whole family record, extending back through many generations, is of tremendous value in helping him to resist temptations. The fact that the individual has behind and surrounding him proud family history and connection serves as a stimulus to help him to overcome obstacles when striving for success.

The time that I was permitted to attend school during the day was short, and my attendance was irregular. It was not long before I had to stop attending day-school altogether, and devote all of my time again to work. I resorted to the night-school again. In fact, the greater part of the education I secured in my boyhood was gathered through the night-school after my day's work was done. I had difficulty often in securing a satisfactory teacher. Sometimes, after I had secured some one to teach me at night, I would find, much to my disappointment, that the teacher knew but little more than I did. Often I would have to walk several miles at night in order to recite my night-school lessons. There was never a time in my youth, no matter how dark and discouraging the days might be, when one resolve did not continually remain with me, and that was a determination to secure an education at any cost.

Speaking Out*

Shirley Chisholm

Education, no doubt, is the key to long-range progress, although jobs and decent housing are the immediate needs.... Education alone will not be enough, even a college education. And it is obvious that not all blacks any more than all whites are college material, as we now define college. For the most part, the education provided for black children is a kind designed to keep them in their place. The story starts way back, during the time after the Civil War when at least three white groups were contending for control of the four million freed slaves. Abolitionists and other northern liberals wanted to educate the freedmen to "level all vestiges of the past," as Horace Mann Bond put it. If they had prevailed, American history would have been far different. But of course they could not prevail. Arrayed against them were southern conservatives and southern liberals, each with their own ideas, and they were strengthened by the uninterested, apathetic majority in the North.

The southern conservative knew education for blacks meant potential black economic and political power.... Eventually they prevailed, with the help where needed of terrorist forces like the Klan, and reestablished white supremacy with the infamous Black Codes, legitimized by the disgraceful Supreme Court "separate but equal" doctrine. Schools, medical care, the protection of the law—all were denied to black citizens as a matter of public policy in most of the South....

There is another approach, that of using education as a means of continuing control over the lives of black people.

Many writers have pointed out, and I have used the analogy myself in speeches, that American blacks are in the position of a colonial population. They have been compelled to adopt the cultural standards and norms of their rulers in order to make any advancement whatever. But American blacks have been denied the option of a true colonized population; they have no true culture of their own to oppose to that of their exploiters, because theirs was systematically destroyed by the slave masters. They are uniquely vulnerable; it has been for them a choice of conform or die.

How can blacks be kept in a subordinate role forever? By using their vulnerability, the constraint they were under to conform to white values. It could best be done through the schools, to which blacks naturally flocked after the Civil War. They could be educated for service, and nothing else, and inculcated with attitudes of docility and industry. Many such schools were long ago established for blacks, if need be at private expense; if the schools were public, their programs were controlled to the same end.

Through the years I have heard black parents by the hundreds tell a modern, metropolitan version of the story: how their children, even if talented, were steered by teachers and counselors to a narrow range

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*From Unbought and Unbossed by Shirley Chisholm. Copyright © 1970 by Shirley Chisholm. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Company.

of jobs, to courses in vocational training, practical nursing, hairdressing, and so forth — never to academic courses that could lead to a professional or business career. Even now, there are very few black or Puerto Rican students graduated with academic diplomas from Brooklyn high schools....

The days of mind-deadening "industrial education" and of turning out half-trained black professionals to practice in the black community are not yet past, and it is time that they were. This chapter in the history of black America is another proof of the justice of black demands for control of their own institutions, particularly the schools. How can we trust even the most benevolent-appearing white, when we have seen through the years how a trap was concealed in nearly every "gift" we have been offered?

Agenda for the Future

Whitney M. Young, Jr.*

This 1965 Conference of the National Urban League finds us at an all-important midpoint of the 1960's, a decade which has been characterized as the "Decade of the Social Revolution," a decade which history will undoubtedly label as containing the most dramatic and provocative phase of the civil rights movement. This is not to imply that the revolution began at the end of 1959 or that it will end in 1970, for surely its seeds were sown many, many years earlier, during the era of slavery some three hundred years ago and refertilized in the 1860s with the Emancipation Proclamation—which decreed only in fact freedom for the Negro.

And whether or not it ends in 1970 will depend on how effective we have been in destroying the roots of despair and disillusionment and transplanting the seeds of hope and promise into the more fertile soil of plenty and prosperity.

Today, we recognize a new mood of the Negro. Many factors have contributed to bring this about: World War II; the media of mass communication which awakened the nation's conscience; legal gains too long delayed; and numerous other catalysts which helped the Negro citizen's determination for equality to burst into full bloom at the start of this decade.

Today, the Negro citizen—in all of his achievements, his gains, his plights, his miseries—stands tall as never before; and it is our purpose at this National Urban League Conference—we who have contributed significantly to this new stature of the Negro—to fully survey our journey, to reassess our progress, and to outline an agenda for the future that will assure real, honest communication between all peoples....

The Negro citizen wants racial peace, yes; but a peace based on justice. He wants order, yes; but, as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., phrased it, an order based on law—the same law for black men as for

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*Whitney M. Young, Jr., was former executive director of the National Urban League, Inc.

white. We, as Negro citizens, stand for progress, yes—but a progress in which our role is that of equals and brothers—in which the progress of our nation is based on partnership, not on paternalism . . . .

As for the Urban League, our role was never more clear—never more necessary. For as we share with our courageous brothers the task of reducing the more visible barriers of race, our primary responsibility is to ensure that Negro citizens have the qualifications and the resources with which to take advantage of the opening doors.

Jointly, we have created a glorious revolution to change the spirit, laws, and institutions of America. And we of the Urban League must focus on the next phase—one that is every bit as critical and as difficult as those that have gone before. This phase must be a revolution of fulfillment that will call forth all the grandeur and greatness that is in our people . . . .

Our goal, therefore, must be to seek to establish a standard of life for all men in which such social pathologies are eliminated. Only this can lead to real fulfillment—to the achievement by each human being of his or her highest, God-given potential. And this can be a more powerful weapon in our international competition for the minds of men than atomic achievements or a successful landing on the moon. As the late novelist Albert Camus once wrote, the only true nobility lies not in being superior to others but in becoming superior to one's former self.

A comparison of the status of the Negro race with even the present inadequate level of the general society indicates how far we have to go to close the gap. And for those who assert they are tired of hearing these facts, I say we are tired of living these facts. We are tired of seeing every second colored family living in poverty, as compared with every fifth white family. We are tired of trying to live on an annual income of only 55 percent of that enjoyed by the majority of American families. We are tired of an unemployment rate more than twice that of white workers.

We can no longer endure a condition in which nearly twice as many Negro infants as whites die during their first year of life because of discriminatory medical care—an infant mortality rate of forty per one thousand live births, as compared with twenty-two for white babies.

We cannot bear witness to 44 percent of our citizens living in slums, compared with 13 percent of whites—and a rate of overcrowding three times as great . . . .

Therefore, with the future of the Negro family in mind, the National Urban League hereby submits a clarion call for—

1. An immediate program of economic improvement that will include retraining for those automated from their jobs, and a massive program of public works and urban rehabilitation designed not only to rehabilitate our land and urban centers but also, as a basic consideration, to assure gainful employment for every individual in the labor market of this country . . . .

2. A more realistic meeting of the health and welfare needs of individuals and families. Guaranteed minimum income must be accompanied by maximum standards for health and medical care, corrective as well as preventive. We need to develop a nationwide network of community health and information centers. We need a national health insurance plan that would assure quality medical care for all our citizens.

We need a nationwide network of community clinics--urban and rural--where decentralized services can be taken practically to the doorstep of the ghetto resident.

We need a major effort to break the color line in child adoptions, such as we have been able to do in employment. The courts and the foundling homes today must abandon the use of racial factors in adoptions. Too many child welfare agencies are guilty of rank discrimination in preventing childless white couples from adopting Negro babies. And we need, at the same time, more concern on the part of Negro middle-class families and more responsiveness from them to the cries of the homeless . . . .

3. The improvement of our educational levels and our educational systems. We are all familiar with the failure of the American educational system to provide good schools for all--and particularly for Negro children and youth. I will not chronicle again the long list of abuses which Negro pupils must live with every day in the slum schools of America. Anyone who denies that our children are receiving the poorest education, the poorest instruction, that they are exposed to the poorest facilities, the poorest texts, is just plain out of touch with reality.

Underlying the Urban League's approach to this problem must be the conviction that education today is truly a <u>national</u> issue, and that we will rise or fall as a nation depending on whether we succeed in setting standards and providing resources so that we may educate the American people for living and working in--and contributing to--the <u>national</u> society, rather than merely a regional or local area. We have become a mobile nation . . . .

4. A broader and more realistic housing program that will disperse future public housing and permit low income families to purchase homes, and the establishment of a federal fair housing law to break up the immoral and restrictive covenants which have produced a system of intolerable and inhumane ghettos.

To deny Negroes a place to live because of their color is a conspiracy in restraint of trade. With few exceptions our appeals to the housing industry have been a monument to futility. We need a ringing national affirmation of our intention to do what is right not simply to refrain from doing what is wrong. We need a federal civil rights act for housing--an act which will open the doors for Negro families in today's existing market . . . .

The agenda for the future which I have outlined here tonight does not pretend to detail all of the various needs and remedies of our society. These needs will be met and remedies found—if we will them. The important consideration is whether or not we have the fortitude to enable Negro citizens to achieve fulfillment—as well as to help millions of white citizens . . . .

The life of man is made up of two parts. He lives as a social animal in the larger world and as an individual within his own internal world. The movement for civil rights must grapple with both. It must ask Negro citizens to strive for excellence just as it demands of white citizens that they strive for equality.

Just as we press for equality without, we must prepare for excellence within. To win one without the other is to lead half a life, a dismal, stifling existence, devoid of meaning, usefulness, and fulfillment.

This knowledge is sure to be greeted by many without enthusiasm. Some of us will resent the standard of excellence as an imposition, just as inflexible whites regard equality as an affront.

Our pains and sorrows are by no means concluded. In a hundred Harlems, the grief of our people is great. But so is our hope, our fortitude, our courage, our faith, and our spirit. Once again we hear the roar of the mighty waters of which Frederick Douglass spoke—the steady and relentless drumming of the tides of change upon the shores of our national life. Beyond today's struggle, however, I believe there lies a tranquil sea upon which we may one day embark. Our vision must look forward toward it—the promise of a society of equality and excellence, of justice and of unity, undivided by distinctions of race, unshackled by issues of class, unbowed by fears of want.

CHAPTER 4

PEOPLE EXPERIENCE APPRAISAL

The following reading selections describe true life experiences with appraisal. Notice the kind of judgments that are made in each selection. Think about how these appraisals affect the people who were involved. How do you think you would react if something like this happened to you?

I Did Not Really Understand What It Meant to Be a Negro*

Daisy Lee Bates

I was born Daisy Lee Gatson in the little sawmill town of Huttig, in southern Arkansas.... As I grew up in this town, I knew I was a Negro, but I did not really understand what that meant until I was seven years old. My parents, as do most Negro parents, protected me as long as possible from the inevitable insult and humiliation that is, in the South, part of being "colored"....

One afternoon, shortly after my seventh birthday, my mother called me in from play.

"I'm not feeling well," she said. "You'll have to go to the market to get the meat for dinner."

I was thrilled with such an important errand. I put on one of my prettiest dresses and my mother brushed my hair. She gave me a dollar and instructions to get a pound of center-cut pork chops. I skipped happily all the way to the market.

When I entered the market, there were several white adults waiting to be served. When the butcher had finished with them, I gave him my order. More white adults entered. The butcher turned from me and took their orders. I was a little annoyed but felt since they were grownups it was all right. While he was waiting on the adults, a little white girl came in and we talked while we waited.

The butcher finished with the adults, looked down at us and asked, "What do you want, little girl?" I smiled and said, "I told you before, a pound of center-cut pork chops." He snarled, "I'm not talking to you," and again asked the white girl what she wanted. She also wanted a pound of center-cut pork chops.

"Please may I have my meat?" I said, as the little girl left. The butcher took my dollar from the counter, reached into the showcase, got a handful of fat chops and wrapped them up. Thrusting the package at me, he said, "Niggers have to wait 'til I wait on the white people. Now take your meat and get out of here!" I ran all the way home crying.

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*From Daisy Lee Bates, The Long Shadow of Little Rock: A Memoir. Copyright © 1962 Daisy Lee Bates. Reprinted by permission of the David McKay Company, Inc.

When I reached the house, my mother asked what had happened. I started pulling her toward the door, telling her what the butcher had said. I opened the meat and showed it to her. "It's fat, Mother. Let's take it back."

"Oh, Lord, I knew I shouldn't have sent her. Stop crying now, the meat isn't so bad."

"But it is. Why can't we take it back?"

"Go on out on the porch and wait for Daddy." As she turned from me, her eyes were filling with tears.

When I saw Daddy approaching, I ran to him, crying. He lifted me in his arms and smiled. "Now, what's wrong?" When I told him, his smile faded.

"And if we don't hurry, the market will be closed," I finished.

"We'll talk about it after dinner, sweetheart." I could feel his muscles tighten as he carried me into the house.

Dinner was distressingly silent. Afterwards my parents went into the bedroom and talked. My mother came out and told me my father wanted to see me. I ran into the bedroom. Daddy sat there, looking at me for a long time. Several times he tried to speak, but the words just wouldn't come. I stood there, looking at him and wondering why he was acting so strangely. Finally he stood up and the words began tumbling from him. Much of what he said I did not understand. To my seven-year-old mind he explained as best he could that a Negro had no rights that a white man respected.

He dropped to his knees in front of me, placed his hands on my shoulders, and began shaking me and shouting.

"Can't you understand what I've been saying?" he demanded. There's nothing I can do! If I went down to the market I would only cause trouble for my family."

Daisy Lee Bates grew up in Little Rock, Arkansas. She married Christopher Bates in 1941, and together they founded and edited a weekly newspaper called the Arkansas State Press. She has served as the president of the Arkansas Branch of the NAACP. Her civil rights activities during the struggle for school integration in 1957 resulted in the loss of her newspaper. In 1962 she wrote her autobiography, which is called The Long Shadow of Little Rock.

Questions (No Student Text)

1. What does Daisy mean by saying: "I did not really understand what it meant to be a Negro"?

   (She didn't realize that she would be treated differently from other white people because of the color of her skin.)

2. Daisy reacted the way many people would when she realized that the butcher had given her fatty pork chops. Why wasn't she allowed to return them for some better ones?

   (Because her parents knew that they were powerless to change things.)

3. How do you think this affected their feelings of self-esteem?

   (It must have made them feel very bad about themselves.)

4. Change the person appraisals to task appraisals. How does this change the situation?

The Black of It*

Phyllis Harrison-Ross, M.D.

I was a very smart little girl. I skipped two years in primary school. At the end of junior high, I had all E's for Excellence. Despite my good academic record, when the time came to choose which high school I'd attend and which courses I'd take, the guidance counselor advised me to take a home economics course in the local general high school. She said it would teach me to become a good housekeeper and I'd always be able to hold a steady job as a domestic.

Needless to say, my mother and father scorned this guidance. I'd just as soon have followed it, because most of my friends were going to that school and I would have had a good time. Instead, my parents insisted that I take the entrance examination for the top academic high school in Detroit.

Here again I ran into a racial put-down. I scored very high, exceptionally high, on the entrance exam. When I came for my interview, the white admissions teacher was surprised that the student who had such high grades was black. He remarked that I must have been related to President Benjamin Harrison. If there was ever one single time when I wanted to deny any white family background I had, that was it. I had scored high because I had studied hard and I was intelligent.

Questions (No Student Text)

1. Why do you think the guidance counselor advised Phyllis to take home economics for a steady job as a domestic?

   (This was the only work available to many Black women at that time.)

2. How did the white admissions teacher explain Phyllis' high test scores?

   (He thought that her ability was inherited from her white ancestors.)

3. Why should the teacher even want to explain Phyllis' high test scores?

   (His explanation is highly person-based. It gives him the opportunity of placing Phyllis into the category of "black" and "intellectually inferior" and, by implication, of placing himself into the category of "white" and "intellectually superior.")

4. Why does Phyllis think she scored so high? Is her judgment a task or person appraisal?

   (She states that she studied hard and was intelligent. Her judgment is based on her work and is a task appraisal.)

5. Change the person appraisals to task appraisals. How does this change the situation?

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*From Phyllis Harrison-Ross and Barbara Wyden, "The Black of It," in The Black Child: A Parent's Guide. Copyright © 1973 by Phyllis Harrison-Ross, M.D., and Barbara Wyden. Reprinted by permission of the David McKay Company, Inc.

Somos Chicanos: Strangers in Our Own Land*

David F. Gomez

At the age of six I entered Seventy-fifth Street School...which was located down the street we lived on. The school was mostly white, at least 85% or more. The rest of us were either Mexican, black, or Oriental, but mostly Mexican.... In the classroom my most vivid memories are those of Dick, Jane, and Spot in the first- and second-grade readers. Dick and Jane, of course, were white children and even their dog Spot looked white and clean. Everything that was of value or importance in school was white and clean.... The white children called us "dirty Mexicans" (that's why our skin was brown) or cowards who ran from fights (like our ancestors at the Alamo). My predominant impression, therefore, was that Mexicans had no legitimate place in the white world. If we Mexicans wanted to survive at all, we would have to become white. And I wanted to be white.

My mother came to visit me only once in school. It was during my year in the third grade. Mamá said that after school let out she would take me shopping with her. I expected to find her waiting in the car out front as she usually did when she picked me up, but instead she parked the car and came into the building to get me.... It was 2:00 p.m. and the last bell had rung. Most of the other children were putting away their books and papers, getting their coats and sweaters from the classroom, or huddling around the teacher's desk. Everyone seemed to be talking very loud or laughing.... My mother entered the classroom through the front door, and when she saw me she called out: "David, apúrate, te 'stoy esperando!" I froze with embarrassment and shame, feeling that everyone in the room was staring at us. And I didn't want the other children to think of me as different or foreign. I ran up to my mother and pleaded, "Mother, speak English please!" She never mentioned the incident, but I know I must have disappointed her....

Gradually I became aware of feeling that what my family had to offer--language, customs, food, ways of looking at the world, vacations in Baja, California--was not very good in comparison with the other world in which I lived. This was the world of little Richard Yates, Donald Cook, Patricia Allen, and the other white kids who went to Seventy-fifth Street School with me. I went out of my way as much as possible to get into their world.

My early childhood playmates, other than my own relatives, were white children, and I preferred their companionship to that of my own people. There was one little boy...who was in the third grade with me. I wanted him to be my friend because he seemed to embody all that I admired and believed was best. He had blond hair, bright blue eyes, and rosy cheeks. In fact, he looked a lot like Dick, the little "gringo" hero in our first- and second-grade readers. And I was determined to make friends with him. On the playground during recess, I went up to him and offered him the supreme sacrifice I was capable of offering, my leather pouch, a valuable little pouch made of soft leather which I had saved box tops for months to finally get. You could wear the pouch

*From David F. Gomez, Somos Chicanos: Strangers in Our Own Land. Copyright © 1973 by David F. Gomez. Reprinted by permission of Beacon Press.

on your belt and carry a lot of marbles or candy in it. Here," I said to the little blonde boy, holding up the pouch so he could take it, "do you want it?" "Yeah...don't you need it?" He seemed more puzzled than gratified by my generosity. I told him I didn't need it anymore and he could have it. So he took my pouch--but not my friendship--and went off to play in another corner of the playground with his own friends.

Questions (No Student Text)

1. What are some of the appraisals David Gomez remembers from his childhood?

   (Being called a "dirty Mexican" because of his skin color; being called a "coward" because his ancestors fought on the "wrong side" at the Alamo.)

2. Why does David remember "Dick, Jane, and Spot" from his first and second grade reading books so vividly?

   (Because they were white, and it seemed to him that everything important at school was white.)

3. How did these things affect David's feelings of self-esteem?

   (He felt that he and other Mexicans "had no place in the white world" and in order to be a worthwhile person, he would have to "become white.")

4. Why was David so embarrassed when his mother spoke to him in Spanish?

   (Because he didn't want the other children to think of him as "different or foreign.")

5. Why did David give his most prized possession, his leather pouch, to the little boy with blond hair and blue eyes?

   (He was trying to "buy" the friendship of the little boy and to gain acceptance into the "white world.")

6. Change the person appraisals to task appraisals. How does this change the situation?

What It Is Like to Be a Black Manager*

Edward W. Jones, Jr.

The Job Offer

My story begins when I happened to bump into a recruiter who was talking to a friend of mine. On gathering that I was a college senior, the recruiter asked whether I had considered his company as an employer. I responded, "Are you kidding me—you don't have any black managers, do you?" He replied, "No, but that's why I'm here."

I did well in a subsequent interview procedure and received an invitation for a company tour. Still skeptical, I accepted, feeling that I had nothing to lose. During a lunch discussion concerning the contemplated job and its requirements, I experienced my first reminder that I was black. After a strained silence, one of the executives at our table looked at me, smiled, and said, "Why is it that everyone likes Roy Campanella, but so many people dislike Jackie Robinson?"

I knew that this man was trying to be pleasant; yet I felt nothing but disgust at what seemed a ridiculous deterioration in the level of conversation. Here was the beginning of the games that I expected but dreaded playing. The question was demeaning and an insult to my intelligence. It was merely a rephrasing of the familiar patronizing comment, "One of my best friends is a Negro." Most blacks recognize this type of statement as a thinly veiled attempt to hide bias. After all, if a person is unbiased, why does he make such a point of trying to prove it?

In the fragment of time between the question and my response, the tension within me grew. Were these people serious about a job offer? If so, what did they expect from me? I had no desire to be the corporate black in a glass office, but I did not wish to be abrasive or ungracious if the company was sincere about its desire to have an integrated organization.

There was no way to resolve these kinds of questions at that moment, so I gathered up my courage and replied, "Roy Campanella is a great baseball player. But off the field he is not an overwhelming intellectual challenge to anyone. Jackie Robinson is great both on and off the baseball field. He is very intelligent and therefore more of a threat than Roy Campanella. In fact, I'm sure that if he wanted to, he could outperform you in your job."

There was a stunned silence around the table, and from that point on until I arrived back at the employment office, I was sure that I had ended any chances of receiving a job offer.

I was wrong. I subsequently received an outstanding salary offer from the recruiter. But I had no intention of being this company's showcase black and asked seriously, "Why do you want me to work for you? Because of my ability or because you need a black?" I was reassured

*From Edward W. Jones, Jr., "What It's Like to Be a Black Manager," Harvard Business Review, July-August 1973. Copyright © 1973 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. All rights reserved.

that ability was the "only" criterion, and one month later, after much introspection, I accepted the offer.

Initial Exposure

I entered the first formal training phase, in which I was the only black trainee in a department of over 8,000 employees. During this period, my tension increased as I was repeatedly called on to be the in-house expert on anything pertaining to civil rights. I was proud to be black and had many opinions about civil rights, but I did not feel qualified to give "the" black opinion. I developed the feeling that I was considered a black first and an individual second by many of the people I came into contact with. This feeling was exacerbated by the curious executive visitors to the training class who had to be introduced to everyone except me. Everyone knew my name, and I constantly had the feeling of being on stage.

The next phase of training was intended to prepare trainees for supervisory responsibilities. The tension of the trainee group had risen somewhat because of the loss of several trainees and the increased challenges facing us. In my own case, an increasing fear of failure began to impact on the other tensions that I felt from being "a speck of pepper in a sea of salt." The result of these tensions was that I began behaving with an air of bravado. I wasn't outwardly concerned or afraid, but I was inwardly terrified. This phase of training was also completed satisfactorily, at least in an official sense.

At the conclusion of the training, I received a "yes, but" type of appraisal. For example: "Mr. Jones doesn't take notes and seems to have trouble using the reference material, but he seems to be able to recall the material." This is the type of appraisal that says you've done satisfactorily, yet leaves a negative or dubious impression. I questioned the subjective inputs but dropped the matter without any vehement objections.

Prior to embarking on my first management assignment, I resolved to learn from this appraisal and to use more tact and talk less. These resolutions were re-emphasized by my adviser, who was an executive with responsibility for giving me counsel and acting as a sounding board. He also suggested that I relax my handshake and speak more softly.

On the Job

A warm welcome awaited me in the office where I was to complete my first assignment as a supervisor. I looked forward to going to work because I felt that subjectivity in appraisals would now be replaced by objectivity. Here was a situation in which I would either meet or fail to meet clearly defined numerical objectives.

There were no serious problems for three weeks, and I started to relax and just worry about the job. But then I had a conflict in my schedule. An urgent matter had to be taken care of in the office at the same time that I had an appointment elsewhere. I wrote a note to a supervisor who worked for another manager, asking him if he would be kind enough to follow up on the matter in the office for me.

I chose that particular supervisor because he had given me an embarrassingly warm welcome to the office and insisted that I "just ask" if there was anything at all that he could do to help me. I relied on the impersonality of the note because he was out on a coffee break and I had to leave immediately. The note was short and tactfully worded, and ended by giving my advance "thanks" for the requested help. Moreover, the office norms encouraged supervisory cooperation, so the fact that we worked under different managers did not seem to be a problem.

When I returned to the office, the manager I worked for called me in. He was visibly irritated. I sat down and he said, "Ed, you're rocking the boat." He stated that the supervisor I had asked for help had complained directly to the area manager that I was ordering him around and said he wasn't about to take any nonsense from a "new kid" in the office.

In a very calm voice, I explained what I had done and why I had done it. I then asked my manager, "What did I do wrong?" He looked at me and said, "I don't know, but whatever it is, cut it out. Stop rocking the boat." When I asked why the note wasn't produced to verify my statements, he said that it "wasn't available."

I left my manager's office totally perplexed. How could I correct my behavior if I didn't know what was wrong with it? I resolved that I had no choice except to be totally self-reliant, since one thing was obvious: what I had taken at face value as friendliness was potentially a fatal trap.

The feelings aroused in this incident were indicative of those I was to maintain for some time. While I felt a need for closeness, the only option open to me was self-reliance. I felt that my manager should support and defend me, but it was obvious that he was not willing to take such a stance. Worst of all, however, was my feeling of disappointment and the ensuing confusion due to my lack of guidance. I felt that if my manager was not willing to protect and defend me, he had an increased responsibility to give me guidance on how to avoid future explosions of a similar nature.

For some months I worked in that office without any additional explosions, although I was continually admonished not to "rock the boat." During a luncheon with the area manager one day, I remember, he said, "Ed, I've never seen a guy try so hard. If we tell you to tie your tie to the right, you sure try to do it. But why can't you be like Joe (another trainee the area manager supervised)? He doesn't seem to be having any problems."

The Appraisal Incident

I directed my energies and frustrations into my work, and my supervisory section improved in every measured area of performance until it led the unit. At the end of my first six months on the job, I was slated to go on active duty to fulfill my military requirements as a lieutenant in the Army. Shortly before I left, my manager stated, "Ed,

you've done a tremendous job. You write your own appraisal." I wrote the appraisal, but was told to rewrite it because "it's not good enough." I rewrote the appraisal four times before he was satisfied that I was not being too modest. As I indicated earlier, I had resolved to be as unabrasive as possible, and, even though I had met or exceeded all my objectives, I was trying not to be pompous in critiquing my own performance.

Finally, on my next to last day on the job, my manager said, "Ed, this is a fine appraisal. I don't have time to get it typed before you go, but I'll submit this appraisal just as you have written it." With that, I went into the service, feeling that finally, I had solved my problems.

Six months later, I took several days' leave from the Army to spend Christmas in the city with my family. On the afternoon of the day before Christmas, I decided to visit the personnel executive who had originally given me encouragement. So, wearing my officer's uniform, I stopped by his office.

After exchanging greetings and making small talk, I asked him if he had seen my appraisal. He answered, "yes," but when his face failed to reflect the look of satisfaction that I expected, I asked him if I could see it. The appraisal had been changed from the one that I had originally written to another "yes, but" appraisal. The numerical results said that I had met or exceeded all objectives, but under the section entitled "Development Program" the following paragraph had been inserted:

"Mr. Jones's biggest problem has been overcoming his own impulsiveness. He has on occasion, early in his tour, jumped too fast with the result that he has incurred some resentment. In these cases his objectives have been good, but his method has ruffled feathers."

I asked the personnel executive to interpret my overall rating. He answered, "Well, we can run the business with people with that rating." I then asked him to explain the various ratings possible, and it became clear that I had received the lowest acceptable rating that wouldn't require the company to fire me. I could not see how this could be, since I had exceeded all my objectives. I explained how I had written my own appraisal and that this appraisal had been rewritten. The personnel officer could not offer an explanation; he recommended that I speak to my old area manager, who had had the responsibility to review and approve my appraisal, and ask him why I had been treated in that manner.

A Bleak Christmas

I tried to sort things out on my way to see my former area manager. My head was spinning, and I was disgusted. The appraisal was not just unfair—it was overtly dishonest. I thought of standing up in a righteous indignation and appealing to higher authority in the company, but I had always resisted calling attention to my blackness by asking for special concessions and wanted to avoid creating a conflict situation if at all possible. While the 15-minute walk in the cold air calmed my anger,

I still hadn't decided what I was going to do when I arrived at the area manager's office.

I walked into a scene that is typical of Christmas Eve in an office. People were everywhere, and discarded gift wrappings filled the wastebaskets. The area manager still had on the red Santa Claus suit. I looked around at the scene of merriment and decided that this was a poor time to "rock the boat."

The area manager greeted me warmly, exclaimed how great I looked, and offered to buy me a drink on his way home. I accepted, and with a feeling of disgust and disappointment, toasted to a Merry Christmas. I knew then that this situation was hopeless and there was little to be gained by raising a stink while we were alone. I had been naive, and there was no way to prove that the appraisal had been changed.

I was a very lonely fellow that Christmas Eve. My feelings of a lack of closeness, support, and protection were renewed and amplified. It became obvious that no matter how much I achieved, how hard I worked, or how many personal adjustments I made, this system was trying to reject me.

I didn't know which way to turn, whom to trust, or who would be willing to listen. The personnel executive had told me to expect prejudice, but when he saw that I was being treated unfairly, he sent me off on my own.

"What do they expect?" I thought. "They know that I am bound to run into prejudice; yet no one lifts a finger when I am treated unfairly. Do they expect a person to be stupid enough to come right out and say, 'Get out, blackie; we don't want your type here'? This surely wouldn't happen—such overt behavior would endanger the offending person's career."

After the Christmas Eve incident, I went off to finish the remaining time in the Army. During that period, I tossed my work problems around in my mind, trying to find the right approach. The only answer I came up with was to stand fast, do my best, ask for no special favors, and refuse to quit voluntarily.

<u>New Challenges</u>

When I returned to the company, I was assigned as a supervisor in another area for five or six weeks, to do the same work as I had been doing prior to my departure for the military service. At the end of this uneventful refamiliarization period, I was reassigned as a manager in an area that had poor performance and was recognized as being one of the most difficult in the company. The fact that I would be responsible for one of three "manager units" in the area was exciting, and I looked forward to this new challenge.

I walked into my new area manager's office with a smile and an extended hand, anxious to start off on the right foot and do a good job. After shaking hands, my new boss invited me to sit down while he told

me about the job. He began by saying, "I hope you don't, but I am pretty sure you are going to fall flat on your face. When you do, my job is to kick you in the butt so hard that they'll have to take us both to the hospital."

I was shocked and angry. In the first place, my pride as a man said you don't have to take that kind of talk from anyone. I fought the temptation to say something like, "If you even raise your foot, you may well go to the hospital to have it put in a cast."

As I held back the anger, he continued, "I don't know anything about your previous performance, and I don't intend to try to find out. I'm going to evaluate you strictly on your performance for me."

The red lights went on in my mind. This guy was making too much of an issue about his lack of knowledge concerning my previous performance. Whom was he trying to kid? He had heard rumors and read my personnel records. I was starting off with two strikes against me. I looked at him and said, "I'll do my best."

More Appraisal Troubles

The area's results failed to improve, and John, the area manager, was replaced by a new boss, Ralph. Two weeks after Ralph arrived, he called me on the intercom and said, "Ed, John has your appraisal ready. Go down to see him in his new office. Don't worry about it; we'll talk when you get back." Ralph's words and tone of foreboding made me brace for the worst.

John ushered me into his office and began by telling me that I had been his worst problem. He then proceeded to read a list of every disagreement involving me that he was aware of. These ranged from corrective actions with clerks to resource allocation discussions with my fellow managers. It was a strange appraisal session. John wound up crossing out half of the examples cited as I rebutted his statements. At the end of the appraisal, he turned and said, "I've tried to be fair, Ed. I've tried not to be vindictive. But if someone were to ask how you're doing, I would have to say you've got room for improvement."

Discussions with Ralph, my new boss, followed as soon as I returned to my office. He advised me not to worry, that we would work out any problems. I told him that this was fine, but I also pointed out the subjectivity and dishonesty reflected in previous and current appraisals and the circumstances surrounding them.

I was bitter that a person who had just been relieved for ineffectiveness could be allowed to have such a resounding impact on my chances in the company. My predecessor had been promoted; I had improved on his results, but here I was, back in questionable status again.

The Turning Point

About six weeks later, Ralph called me in and said, "Ed, I hope you make it on the job. But what are you going to do if you don't?"

At that moment, I felt as if the hands on the clock of life had reached 11:59. Time was running out very rapidly on me, and I saw myself against a wall, with my new boss about to deliver the coup de grace. I felt that he was an honest and very capable person, but that circumstances had combined to give him the role of executioner. It seemed from his question that he was in the process of either wrestling with his own conscience or testing me to see how much resistance, if any, I would put up when he delivered the fatal blow. After all, while I had not made an issue of my ill treatment thus far in my career, no matter how unjustly I felt I had been dealt with, he was smart enough to realize that this option was still open to me.

I looked at Ralph and any thought about trying to please him went out of my mind. Sitting up straight in my chair, I met his relaxed smile with a very stern face. "Why do you care what I do if I don't make it?" I asked coldly.

"I care about you as a person," he replied.

"It's not your job to be concerned about me as a person," I said. "Your job is to evaluate my performance results. But since you've asked, it will be rough if I am fired, because I have a family and responsibilities. However, that's not your concern. You make your decision; and when you do, I'll make my decision." With that statement I returned to my office.

Several weeks after this discussion, a vice president came around to the office to discuss objectives and job philosophy with the managers. I noted at the time that while he only spent 15 or 20 minutes with the other managers, he spent over an hour talking with me. After this visit, Ralph and I had numerous daily discussions. Then Ralph called me into his office to tell me he had written a new appraisal with an improved rating. I was thrilled. I was going to make it. Later, he told me that he was writing another appraisal, stating I not only would make it but also had promotional potential.

After Ralph had changed the first appraisal, my tensions began to decrease and my effectiveness began to increase proportionately. The looser and more confident I became, the more rapidly the results improved. My assignment under Ralph became very fulfilling, and one of the best years I've spent in the company ensued. Other assignments followed, each more challenging than the previous, and each was handled satisfactorily.

Questions

1. Why did Jones find the job interview insulting?

   (The interviewer tried to hide his prejudice by praising a Black athlete.)

2. Why did Jones mind being the in-house expert on civil rights?

   (He was seen as a Black first, as a member of a category.)

3. What is the "yes-but" type of appraisal Jones received?

   (He did his work well but reasons were found to diminish it. For example, he did not do the work in the same manner as others did.)

4. Jones had to leave the office because of an emergency. He asked a "friendly" supervisor to fill in for him. When Jones returned, he was accused by his manager of "rocking the boat." What did Jones do?

   (The "friendly" supervisor had complained that Jones was ordering him around and that he would not take such treatment. Jones felt confused because he did not know what he had done wrong or how to correct his behavior.)

5. As a trainee Jones felt that he should receive support and guidance from his manager. Did he receive support and guidance?

   (No.)

6. Jones was recruited to serve in the U. S. Army. Before he left, the company evaluated his performance. What happened in "the appraisal incident"?

   (He was told that he had done a tremendous job. He was asked to write his own evaluation. It was not positive enough and he was asked to rewrite it four more times. While on Christmas leave, Jones visited his company and asked about his appraisal. The appraisal had been changed to a "yes, but" appraisal. His performance was excellent but he was a troublemaker. He had received the lowest acceptable rating.)

7. Identify the task appraisals and the person appraisals in "the appraisal incident." Which received more emphasis in his evaluation?

   (Task appraisals indicated that his objective performance was excellent. Person appraisals indicated that some people did not like him and even resented him. He had "ruffled feathers." The evaluation places more emphasis on the person appraisals.)

8. What effect did "the appraisal incident" have on Jones?

   (He felt alone. He felt that he had no support or protection. He felt that no matter what he did, the system was trying to defeat him. He felt confused and hurt because he had done very well but was rejected for vague personalized reasons.)

9. After serving in the Army, Jones returned to the company. How was he greeted by his new boss? How did he feel about it? How did he react?

   (His boss told Jones that Jones would probably fail and fall on his face. His boss also said that he would pick Jones up and kick him in the butt if Jones did fail. Jones felt angry about these remarks, because his pride was hurt. He replied by saying, "I'll do my best.")

10. Jones experienced more appraisal troubles. What were they?

    (John, the area manager, was being promoted, even though the area was doing poorly. Before he left, he evaluated Jones' performance. He had a list of every disagreement Jones had had. Jones defended himself but felt bitter about the untruthful evaluation.)

11. What was the turning point?

    (Ralph became Jones's new boss. He, too, threatened Jones. But he put on the facade of caring for Jones as a person. Jones replied that it was Ralph's job to evaluate his performance and that his personal welfare was his own business and not Ralph's.)

12. Ralph changed the appraisal of Jones. What effect did this have on Jones' performance and feelings?

    (His performance increased dramatically and Jones appeared to feel exuberant.)

13. Change the person appraisals to task appraisals. How does this change the situation?

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL AND LEGAL CHANGES

Teacher's Worksheet for Outline of Social and Legal Changes

1. Ask students to research a particular piece of legislation and present it to the class. The class can be divided into several groups. Each group can cover a different piece of legislation and present its findings to the class.

2. Ask students to role play a particular court case, such as Brown versus the Board of Education.

3. Students can research the contributions of major organizations, such as the NAACP, that effected changes in legislation. Again, the class can be divided into several groups. Each group can be asked to cover a different organization and to report its findings to the class.

4. Students can research the contributions of individual leaders. The class can be constituted into several groups, with each group covering and reporting on a different leader. Or the class may decide to have a "Major Contributor's Day," such as "Martin Luther King Day." The contributions of this individual can be reported on, discussed, role played; visual materials can be brought to class and a display prepared, etc.

5. Have a "freedom" day. Students can research and report on how the lives of ordinary people changed because of legislation. Or students can role play situations in which their lives improved because of legislation. A display can be prepared.

6. If desired, additional time can be taken in the course for a "film festival." There are many good educational films available on the lives of minority groups and on legislative changes. This visual exposure should enrich the student's understanding and appreciation of minority status.

Whatever activity is chosen, special attention should be paid to appraisal. Students should be asked to identify the appraisal and be encouraged to practice improved task appraisals. Although a variety of subject areas are covered in this course, the focus of the course is appraisal. Special care needs to be taken so that this emphasis does not become lost.

Outline of Social and Legal Changes

In the previous chapter we covered how individual people experienced appraisal. These incidents were not unique or isolated.

Every person who belongs to a minority group faces negative person appraisal at one time or another. Over time, the effects of this appraisal are tremendous. People are made to feel less than human. They may come to accept unequal treatment and even abuse.

However, this kind of treatment has also made minority people angry. Leaders have organized their people to work for equality. The efforts of these groups have led to major legislative changes.

Black Americans have been fighting for justice since they came to the United States. In 1905, W. E. B. Dubois and other leaders met in Niagara Falls, Canada. There they began the "Niagara Movement" which demanded: "We will not be satisfied with less than our full manhood rights." In 1909, the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) was formed. The NAACP has brought many important cases to the Supreme Court. Their efforts have been crucial to legal change.

After many Blacks threatened to "March on Washington," President Roosevelt met with Black leader A. Philip Randolph. Randolph told Roosevelt about the problems his people faced in getting good jobs. The President set up a Committee on Fair Employment Practice (FEPC). The committee worked to investigate problems and to recommend solutions.

The problems were not easily solved, however. Blacks in the 1960's faced many of the same problems that their parents and grandparents had experienced.

1963 was an important year for civil rights. During that year many Blacks demonstrated for equality in jobs, education, housing, and the use of public facilities. Martin Luther King and his group, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, boycotted buses and conducted "sit ins" for an end to segregation. During the summer of 1963 there were 841 demonstrations in 196 cities in 35 states and the District of Columbia. The Justice Department estimated that 319 communities in 11 states became more fair in their treatment of Blacks as a result of the demonstrations.

Mexican Americans began to work for their equality most actively in the beginning of the 1960's. In 1962 Cesar Chavez began to organize the United Farm Workers Union. This union works for improved wages and working conditions for farm workers. In 1962 there were less than 300 members in the United Farm Workers. During the Union's big grape strike (from 1965 to 1970) 20,000 migrant workers participated in the strike.

Reiss Dijerina is another important Mexican American leader. He has established an organization called the Alianza (meaning Alliance). The Alianza works to get back land that was taken from the Mexican Amer-

icans by the U.S. Government. Although a treaty had promised the Mexicans that they could keep their land, the promise was broken. Reiss Dijerina is fighting to make that promise good again.

Native Americans have also created several organizations to work for social and legal changes. The National Indian Education Conference works to keep the education of American Indian children in the hands of Indians. The Native Indian Youth Council works to show young Native Americans the importance of education.

The efforts of these people have resulted in many legal changes aimed at creating equality for people of all racial and ethnic groups. Throughout our history laws have been passed to increase the equality of all people. In 1865, the 13th Amendment was ratified. This amendment prohibits slavery. In 1868, the 14th Amendment was ratified. It gives everyone equal protection under the law. In 1870, the 15th Amendment was ratified. This amendment specifies that states cannot deny a man the right to vote because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. These amendments were passed at the end of the Civil War, during the beginning of a period known as the "Reconstruction."

During Reconstruction several further laws were passed to insure equality. There were laws to insure rights to property, voting, and equal access to public accommodations, facilities, and transportation. However, in 1883, several of these Civil Rights Acts were struck down in the Supreme Court. The Court ruled that the federal government could not interfere in private concerns. Therefore, there could be no Federal civil rights laws.

In 1896, the Supreme Court upheld the policy of segregating Blacks and whites as long as facilities were of "equal quality." This "separate but equal" doctrine held until 1954. In 1954, the Court ruled that the "separate but equal" doctrine was unconstitutional. It ordered an end to school desegregation "with all deliberate speed."

In 1957, Congress finally awakened from its long sleep and passed the 1957 Civil Rights Act. This Act:

a. outlawed the intimidation of voters.

b. gave the Attorney General the power to act against intimidation.

c. created the Civil Rights Commission.

d. created a position of Assistant Attorney General to head the new Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department.

Two more Civil Rights Acts (1960 and 1964) included provisions to combat discrimination in voting, public accommodations, government facilities, public education, and employment. Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in any program or activity receiving federal money (for

example, public schools). Title VII of the same act prohibited discrimination in employment and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to administer the law.

The Civil Rights Act of 1968 outlawed discrimination in housing. The Equal Employment Act of 1972 further expanded the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by giving EEOC further powers.

Since 1957, then, the federal government has passed several laws to ensure equality for all racial groups. However, these laws must be enforced before they can actually create changes. It is up to individual people to make sure that these laws are being upheld in their own communities.

The Civil Rights Movement: Readings

To provide a brief introduction to the civil rights movement, the following readings include a brief overview of the movement, Dr. Martin Luther King's key address of August 1963, and President John F. Kennedy's address to the nation in June 1963.

The Negro in America*

Earl Spangler

The demonstrations of the mid-20th century called attention to the need for new Federal laws to safeguard the rights of black people. In 1957, Congress set up the Commission on Civil Rights to investigate denials of civil rights. This measure was the first federal civil rights act passed since Reconstruction. A law designed to protect the voting rights of blacks was enacted in 1960. But it was not until 1963, when protest demonstrations had become nationwide, that the most comprehensive civil rights legislation was introduced. Sent to Congress by President John F. Kennedy, the bill outlawed discrimination in restaurants, hotels, and other public places. It also forbade discrimination by employers and unions, and established a commission to enforce fair employment practices. In addition, the bill authorized the withholding of federal funds from any program or activity that allowed racial discrimination.

In support of the proposed legislation, more than 200,000 people, both black and white, took part in a march on Washington in August 1963. Led by Martin Luther King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and other civil rights figures, the marchers came to the nation's capital to demand freedom and justice for black people. In November 1963, three months after the march, President Kennedy was assassinated. The new civil rights bill was still in Congress, and Kennedy's successor, Lyndon B. Johnson, urged that it be passed quickly. In July 1964, the bill became law. As a result of its passage, segregation in public places soon began to crumble.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 had far-reaching effects, but much remained to be done if black people were to have true equality. One of the most important goals of the civil rights movement was the achievement of full voting rights for Negroes. In January 1965, Martin Luther King began a voting rights campaign centered in Selma, Alabama. During the two-month-long drive, many people who came to take part in demonstrations and aid in voter registration were threatened and arrested. Four people were killed. (Only the year before, three young civil rights workers had been murdered during a voter registration drive in Mississippi.) When the demonstrators attempted to march from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery, they were stopped by police using tear gas and whips. Hundreds of sympathizers, black and white, then rushed to Selma to join the march. Finally, President Johnson ordered federal protection for the demonstrators who made the walk from Selma to Montgomery late in March.

In August 1965, with Selma still in the news and on the mind of the nation, Congress passed a new Voting Rights Act. The act outlawed literacy tests in many Southern states and permitted Federal examiners to register voters. It was another step forward in the legal battle against discrimination. But there still existed problems of injustice and inequality so deep-rooted in American life that laws alone could

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*From Earl Spangler, The Negro in America. Minneapolis, Minn.: Lerner Publications Co., 1971. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

not affect them. In the last half of the 1960's, attempts to solve these basic problems would absorb the nation's attention and arouse its deepest feelings....

The Civil Rights Act of 1968 was the last piece of civil rights legislation passed in the decade of the sixties. Most of the legal obstacles to racial equality had now been eliminated by the courts and the federal government. But as the decade ended and a new one began, black people in the United States faced an uncertain future. Laws had been changed and new laws passed, yet many American Negroes could see little improvement in their own lives. Unemployment was still almost twice as high among blacks as among whites. The gap between black and white incomes was narrowing, but the difference remained significant. (The fact that Negroes with high school educations earned less than whites who had only finished grade school suggested that racial discrimination was a real factor in income difference.) In 1970, black people were four times as likely to live in substandard housing as whites. Most urban blacks still made their homes in the decaying core of the central city. School integration was progressing—94 percent of the school districts in the South were partially desegregated—but the majority of schools throughout the nation remained predominantly black or white.

Observers who were able to see the American Negro's situation from a historical point of view were not too surprised to find that change was slow in coming. Blacks were victims of social and economic inequalities, which had existed for so many years that they had virtually become a part of the structure of American society. Change would require massive resources and determined efforts. Moreover, the problems to be solved were frighteningly complex. Yet black Americans had already waited a long time for the rights and privileges which white Americans possessed by birth. As the legal barriers crumbled and improvements began to take place, black impatience grew and black demands became more aggressive. Militancy existed throughout the Negro community, and sometimes it took extreme forms. Black speakers denounced all white authority and advocated the use of violence in achieving equal rights. Black college students demanded special black courses, separate living quarters, more black teachers. When their demands were not met, some resorted to violent demonstrations.

Black militancy in its most extreme form could be seen in the activities of the Black Panther Party. Founded in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, the organization called for a revolutionary change in American society, a change to be brought about by violence, if necessary. The Panther Party was made up primarily of blacks, although Panther leaders claimed that they were fighting for the rights of all poor people, regardless of race. Local Panther groups armed themselves, presumably in self-defense, and police raids on Panther headquarters sometimes resulted in fatal gun battles.

In 1970 the Black Panthers were very few in number, but their voices were loud and their words violent. White Americans were frightened by their threats and angered by their arrogance. Most black Americans had a different reaction. In 1970 a nationwide opinion poll taken by

Louis Harris for Time magazine revealed that a majority of the blacks surveyed felt some sense of pride in the Black Panthers. The image projected by the organization was one of defiance and strength, of racial pride and reckless courage. In some respects, Panther members served as dramatic and exaggerated symbols of the growing strength and self-respect of black Americans. Most of those surveyed in the Harris poll felt, however, that black militant groups like the Panthers did not provide very effective leadership for the black cause. (Elected officials were seen as the most effective leaders.) A strong majority also believed that black people could attain their full rights without the use of violence.

If most black Americans in 1970 did not advocate the use of violence, they did not reject the possibility that violent confrontations would occur. Despite this danger, they were determined to continue the struggle. They were well aware that white resistance to further progress was growing and that many whites deeply resented the words and actions of black militants. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the new decade some blacks expressed a cautious optimism about the future. A majority of those surveyed in the Harris poll felt that things were getting better for black people in the United States. Signs of improvement could already be seen—more Negroes were getting into college, new jobs had opened up, there were more black-owned businesses. This particular group of black people believed that one of the most promising signs for the future was the growth of racial pride and confidence among blacks. If equality and justice were finally to be achieved, it would be through the efforts of black people proud of their heritage, confident of their human worth, and unyielding in their determination.

I Have a Dream*

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon of light and of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination.

One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

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In a sense, we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be granted the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. So we have come to cash this check--a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of <u>now</u>. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valleys of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the movement and to underestimate the determination of the Negro. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end but a beginning. Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual.

There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice. In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds.

Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white

brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny, and they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom. This offense we share mounted to storm the battlements of injustice must be carried forth by a biracial army. We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead. We cannot turn back. There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality.

We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one.

We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their selfhood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating "for whites only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote, and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like water and righteousness like a mighty stream.

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of excessive trials and tribulation. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. Some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Go back to Mississippi; go back to Alabama; go back to South Carolina; go back to Georgia; go back to Louisiana; go back to the slums and ghettos of the northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed. Let us not wallow in the valley of despair.

So I say to you, my friends, that even though we must face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed—"we hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the State of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor's lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, that one day, right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places shall be made plain, and the crooked places shall be made straight, and the glory of the Lord will be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.

With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning--"my country 'tis of thee; sweet land of liberty; of thee I sing; land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride; from every mountainside, let freedom ring"--and if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.
Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.
Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.
Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado.
Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.
But not only that.
Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.
Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.
Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi
-from every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and hamlet, from every state and city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children--black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants--will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: "Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last."

President Kennedy's Civil Rights Address*

Good evening my fellow citizens.

This afternoon, following a series of threats and defiant statements, the presence of Alabama National Guardsmen was required on the University of Alabama to carry out the final and unequivocal order of the United States District Court of the Northern District of Alabama.

That order called for the admission of two clearly qualified young Alabama residents who happen to have been born Negro.

That they were admitted peacefully on the campus is due in good measure to the conduct of the students of the University of Alabama who met their responsibilities in a constructive way.

I hope that every American, regardless of where he lives, will stop and examine his conscience about this and other related incidents.

This nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.

Today we are committed to a worldwide struggle to promote and protect the rights of all who wish to be free. And when Americans are sent to Vietnam or West Berlin we do not ask for whites only.

It ought to be possible, therefore, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having to be backed up by troops. It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants, and theaters and retail stores without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street.

And it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and to vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal.

It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color.

In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case.

The Negro baby born in America today, regardless of the section or the state in which he is born, has about one-half as much chance of completing a high school as a white baby, born in the same place, on the same day; one-third as much chance of completing college; one-third as much chance of becoming a professional man; twice as much chance of

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*Reprinted from The New York Times, June 12, 1963

becoming unemployed; about one-seventh as much chance of earning $10,000 a year; a life expectancy which is seven years shorter, and the prospects of earning only half as much.

This is not a sectional issue. Difficulties over segregation and discrimination exist in every city, in every state of the Union, producing in many cities a rising tide of discontent that threatens the public safety.

Nor is this a partisan issue. In a time of domestic crisis, men of goodwill and generosity should be able to unite regardless of party or politics.

This is not even a legal or legislative issue alone. It is better to settle these matters in the courts than on the streets, and new laws are needed at every level. But law alone cannot make men see right.

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as clear as the American Constitution. The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities; whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated.

If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public; if he cannot send his children to the best public school available; if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him; if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place?

Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay. One hundred years of delay have passed since President Lincoln freed the slaves, yet their heirs, their grandsons, are not fully free. They are not yet freed from the bonds of injustice; they are not yet freed from social and economic oppression.

And this nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free.

We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it. And we cherish our freedom here at home. But are we to say to the world--and much more importantly to each other--that this is the land of the free, except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens, except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettos, no master race, except with respect to Negroes.

. . . I am, therefore, asking the Congress to enact legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public--hotels, restaurants and theaters, retail stores and similar establishments. This seems to me to be an elementary right.

Its denial is an arbitrary indignity that no American in 1963 should have to endure, but many do.

I have recently met with scores of business leaders, urging them to take voluntary action to end this discrimination. And I've been encouraged by their response. And in the last two weeks over 75 cities have seen progress made in desegregating these kinds of facilities.

But many are unwilling to act alone. And for this reason nationwide legislation is needed, if we are to move this problem from the streets to the courts.

I'm also asking Congress to authorize the Federal Government to participate more fully in lawsuits designed to end segregation in public education. We have succeeded in persuading many districts to desegregate voluntarily. Dozens have admitted Negroes without violence.

Today a Negro is attending a state-supported institution in every one of our 50 states. But the pace is very slow.

Too many Negro children entering segregated grade schools at the time of the Supreme Court's decision nine years ago will enter segregated high schools this fall, having suffered a loss which can never be restored.

The lack of an adequate education denies the Negro a chance to get a decent job. The orderly implementation of the Supreme Court decision therefore, cannot be left solely to those who may not have the economic resources to carry their legal action or who may be subject to harassment.

Other features will be also requested, including greater protection for the right to vote.

But legislation, I repeat, cannot solve this problem alone. It must be solved in the homes of every American in every community across our country.

In this respect, I want to pay tribute to those citizens, North and South, who've been working in their communities to make life better for all.

They are acting not out of a sense of legal duty but out of a sense of human decency. Like our soldiers and sailors in all parts of the world, they are meeting freedom's challenge on the firing line and I salute them for their honor--their courage . . . .